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Bold","identifier":"_anf-ts-153"},"photo-credit":{"fontName":"NYTCheltenhamSH-
Regular","fontSize":12,"identifier":"photo-credit","textColor":"#999999"},"pub-
dt":{"fontName":"NYTCheltenhamSH-Regular","fontSize":12,"identifier":"pub-
dt"}},"title":"Your Monday News Briefing: Kavanaugh, Brexit, Sky","version":"1.0"}
```

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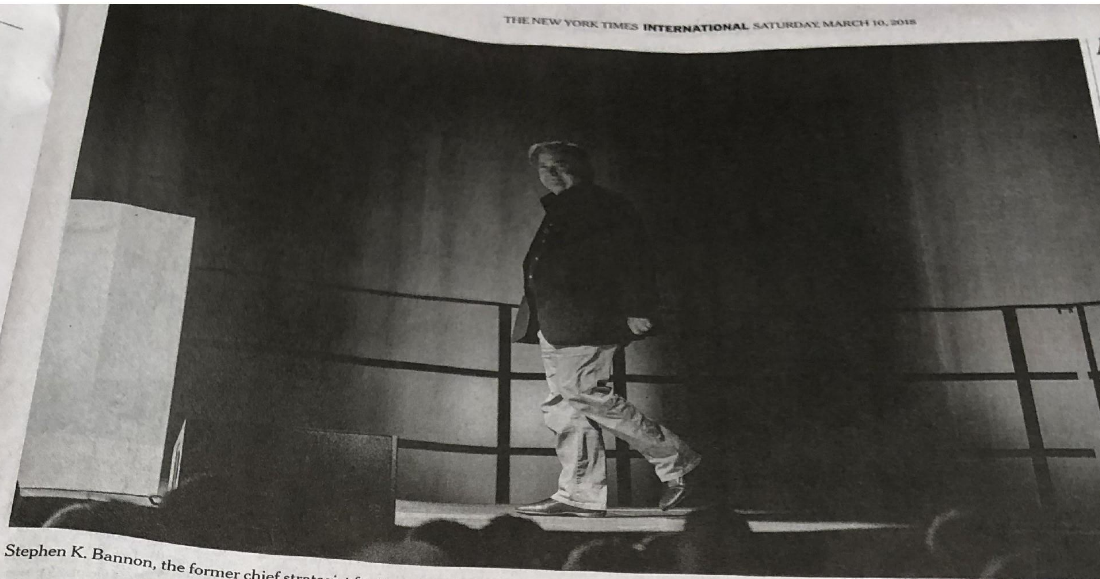
GES



Stephen K. Bannon, the former chief strategist for President Trump, took the stage in Zurich on Tuesday for an event hosted by a right-wing Swiss magazine.

ADRIAN BRETSCHER/GETTY IMAGES

Bannon Takes On Europe, With Populist Toolbox in Hand

By JASON HOROWITZ

MILAN — Stephen K. Bannon leaned back in an armchair opposite a copy of a painting by an Italian old master and explained his modest efforts to build a vast network of European populists to demolish the Continent's political establishment.

"All I'm trying to be," he said, "is the infrastructure, globally, for the global populist movement."

Just that.

Only months ago, Mr. Bannon was forced out of the White House and Breitbart News, the alt-right news empire he helped make into a political force, for the sharp criticisms of President Trump's children attributed to him in a book. "He's lost his mind," Mr. Trump said at the time.

But now Mr. Bannon, the architect of Mr. Trump's populist campaign message and the president's former chief strategist, has returned with an international mission.

On Saturday, he is set to headline the annual conference of France's far-right National Front in the northern city of Lille, where
ne will be introduced by its leader,
Marine Le Pen. People with
nowledge of Mr. Bannon's itiner-
y suggested that he might meet
ter in the weekend with the Hun-
rian prime minister, Viktor Or-
n, but Mr. Bannon declined to
whether or not he would, only
ing that he admired Mr. Orban
"hero" and "the most signifi-
guy on the scene right now."
Zurich, Mr. Bannon says, he
a "fascinating" meeting on
ay with leaders of Ger-
s far-right Alternative for
ny party.
included Alice Weidel and
von Storch, who recently
to a New Year's Eve public
announcement by the
police that went out in
anguages, including Ara-
weeting, "Are they seek-
pease the barbaric, Mus-
t hordes of men?"

But it is Italy, where populist forces smashed the country's establishment by combining to win more than half the vote on Sunday, that Mr. Bannon has turned into his de facto headquarters.

In a sprawling interview here, he declined to name whom he had met, other than to describe them as a broad array of politicians, operatives and investors.

(A spokesman for Matteo Salvini, the leader of the anti-immigrant League, said the two would have liked to have met, but did not. A spokesman for the anti-establishment Five Star Movement, which won a third of Italian votes, did not return a request for comment.)

Aside from the occasional coffee at Campo de' Fiori or photo-op at Piazza Navona, Mr. Bannon has been holed up in hotel rooms, taking meeting after meeting.

In Rome, he stayed at the luxurious Rafael hotel, where Bettino Craxi, the face of Italy's corrupt establishment and mentor to Silvio Berlusconi, was pelted with coins in 1993 by an angry mob as he departed the political scene.

In Milan, he sat in a room at the grand Principe di Savoia, opposite a copy of Titian's portrait of the Duke of Mantua, a master of intrigue in Renaissance Italy and a longtime sufferer of syphilis, surrounded by red damask wallpaper. Jams were on a room service cart, and a copy of a book titled "Headlines All My Life" was on the desk.

In both cities, he wore a blue and white striped button down over a polo shirt. In Rome the polo was orange. In Milan it was blue.

He sipped sparkling water and described a grand vision for a global populist future.

In the United States, Mr. Bannon said, he is working on a project to create a think tank to "weaponize" populist economic and social ideas.

He sees that work spreading to Europe, where a proliferation of populist websites in the image of Breitbart News, either owned by him or others, will spread those ideas, under his guidance.

As a final component, he wants to train an army of populist foot soldiers in the language and tools of social media.

Mr. Bannon said that a common message he had received from populists throughout Europe was a desire to establish a media outlet for their views.

"They see what Breitbart did and they want it in their own language," said Mr. Bannon, who slipped into the present tense when talking about the website from which he recently separated. "That's the key. Right now my sites are in English, they want one in their own language," he said, calling that "phase two."

A new mission: To train Europe's budding populists to do what he did.

He could be forgiven the slip, as the site still seems to be in his thrall. ("Stephen K. Bannon took Zurich by storm Tuesday, addressing a sell-out crowd," began Breitbart's article on the speech.)

But Mr. Bannon, who said he was paying for the trip, said he was weighing whether to buy a name-brand outlet, like Newsweek or United Press International, or to start a new one, or to connect entrepreneurs with capital or invest himself.

He imagined a scoop-driven and high-metabolism outlet "like Axios," he said, referring to the buzzy Washington newsletter, but with a populist bent that would devour Europe's sleepy legacy papers.

"Whether I do it or a local entrepreneur does it," he said, "there are going to be these populist nationalist news sites that pop up in the next year on line. That will only take these things to the next level."

With Europe more aggressively tackling the migration issue, Mr. Bannon was aiming to move the future battle of populism to other terrains.

He said that the reason it was so important to get populist nationalist governments in place was to prepare for a coming great-powers clash with an axis of ancient Turkish, Persian and Chinese civilizations. "Elites can't fight that fight," he said. "Because people have to buy into it."

He is also increasingly interested in motivating people to fight media conglomerates like Facebook that monetize their data. And he has become fascinated with crypto currencies and how they can help populist movements, the subject of a speech he gave in Zurich this week.

In preparation for the speech, organized by Die Weltwoche, a conservative Swiss magazine, Mr. Bannon said he visited the town of Zug, known as Crypto Valley for its bustling cryptocurrency industry. He was impressed.

"If Brussels and the European Central Bank is worried about Italy going to the lira, their concerns should be that all these communities and states are going to crypto," he said in Milan.

In the meantime, he said, he admires Italy's populist parties for already being on the technological cutting edge.

The Five Star Movement, a web-based party that preaches direct, online democracy, and the League, the hard-right, formerly northern-based secessionist party, both dominated social media during the campaign.

Often, their critics say, they did it with spurious and inflammatory fake news about migrants and crime. Many of those messages seemed propelled by automated bots rather than real supporters.

"You can't just have just all humans, I'm sure they have some
bots," Mr. Bannon said, unboth
ered. "The thing is that they ar
generating enthusiasm on sh
strings."

He said he hoped the two
ties would eventually join f
— something not out of the
tion as the Italians try to
government after an incor
election.

But he spoke also alr
pathetically about Ma
the now vanquished It
who only years ago s
the future of Italy a
pean center-left.

Mr. Renzi, he sai
ject lesson to eve
tician in Europe,"
one.

The former prim
said, had tried to
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ropean Union allow
tries to close their
ing Italy to take t
burden.

"They hung hin
said.

Mr. Bannon sa
on Sunday also
Francis, who has
for migrants.

"This vote wa
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who has nonet
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By ELLEN

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 8/4/2015 10:23:22 PM
To: Allen West [redacted]; Rafael Bardaji [redacted]; Philip Kafka
[redacted]; Herb goodman [[redacted]; Grant Seeger [redacted]
Lisa albert [[redacted]]; janet kafka [[redacted]]; James Ramsey
[redacted] ACT for America [redacted]; john zouzelka-cell [redacted]
[redacted]; Joel Dunn [[redacted]ate mcclain
[redacted]; Bennet Greenwald
[redacted] taal safdie [redacted]; uri fouzailov [redacted]
Neil anderson [[redacted]]; nate white [redacted] rita hortenstine [redacted];
Henry hortenstine [redacted]]; Gary Gross [redacted] Forrest Miller - adj kearsarge
house [[redacted]]; Bennett Schmidt [redacted]; Val sherman
[redacted]; Marcie brown [[redacted]]; Mark epstein
[[redacted]]; jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Michael Stechel [redacted]]; michael
buchholtz [redacted]]; Michael horowitz [redacted]; Marshall Funk
[redacted]
Subject: Fw: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Pls spent 2 minutes and watch this dennis prager video on iran deal. And then forward it if you agree. If not, I understand and just delete. Respectfully, terry
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Mike Cohen <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, 4 Aug 2015 22:00:42 +0000
To: Terry Kafka [redacted]>
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

From: Mike Cohen
Sent: Monday, August 03, 2015 7:16 PM
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friends,

PLEASE watch this very important short and incredibly clear video regarding the Iran deal.

If you have not yet called your congressmen and asked other friends and relatives to do so, PLEASE do that as well. The wellbeing of your children and grandchildren depend upon it!

Mike

The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friend,

This week, our featured video is as urgent as it gets. Just days after President Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry announced the nuclear deal with Iran, Dennis Prager was in studio recording a video explaining why the deal is so dangerous, and how it parallels what happened in 1938 between Great Britain and Nazi Germany. This is the fastest turn-around time on any video we've released in PragerU's history, but what's at stake is so monumentally important, we knew we couldn't waste any time. So please take five minutes to watch the video. Forward it to your family, friends, and the offices of your Congressional representatives. We all have an obligation to do whatever is in our power to impact as many people on this topic as we can.

Click image above or here to watch this video

From: Ehud Barak [redacted]
Sent: 4/23/2015 3:31:35 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Hi Jeff

Subject: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Fyi
Best
EB

Check out this video on YouTube:

http://youtu.be/6TcbU5jAavw

Sent from my iPhone

From: Ehud Barak [redacted]
Sent: 4/23/2015 1:34:41 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: What Iran nuke deal means for Israel: Ehud Barak

Hi Jeff
Bill Clinton 1994.
Food for thought.
EB

http://video.cnbc.com/gallery/?video=3000369298

Sent from my iPhone

From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/29/2015 2:22:23 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should
Attachments: MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg

---

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: 3/28/2015 5:59:43 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

-----Original Message-----
From: Sample, Elizabeth <[redacted]
To: Norman D. Rau <[redacted]>
Sent: Sat, Mar 28, 2015 5:24 pm
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

Elizabeth Lee Sample
Senior Global Real Estate Advisor/Associate Broker
Sotheby's International Realty
38 East 61st Street
New York, NY 10065
[redacted]
[redacted]

http://www.samplepowers.com/
Click here to view my listings

Karlie Jamison
Licensed Salesperson/Executive Administrator
[redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Fitz Corr" < [redacted]>
Date: March 27, 2015 at 5:24:21 PM EDT
To: "Fitz Corr" <[redacted]>
Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Do You Know This Guy?

The linked image cannot be displayed. The file may have been moved, renamed, or deleted. Verify that the link points to the correct file and location.

He is Edward "Ed" Mezvinsky, born January 17, 1937. And so who is Ed Mezvinsky?

Well, he is a former Democrat congressman who represented Iowa's 1st congressional district in the United States House of Representatives for two terms, from 1973 to 1977.

He sat on the House Judiciary Committee that decided the fate of Richard Nixon.

He was outspoken saying that Nixon was a crook and a disgrace to politics and the nation and should be impeached.

He and the Clintons were friends and very politically intertwined for many years.

Ed Mezvinsky had an affair with NBC News reporter Marjorie Sue Margolies and later married her after his wife divorced him.

In 1993, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, then a freshman Democrat in Congress, cast the deciding vote that got President Bill Clinton's controversial tax package through the House of Representatives.

In March 2001, Mezvinsky was indicted and later pleaded guilty to 31 of 69 counts of federal criminal bank fraud, mail fraud, and wire fraud.

Ed Mezvinsky embezzled more than $10 million dollars from people via both a Ponzi scheme and the notorious Nigerian e-mail scams.

He was found guilty and sentenced to 80 months in federal prison.

After serving less than five years in federal prison, he was released in April 2008 and remains on federal probation.

To this day, he still owes $9.4 million in restitution to his many victims.

About now you are saying, “So what!”

Well, this is Marc and Chelsea Mezvinsky.

That’s right; Ed Mezvinsky is Chelsea Clinton's father-in law.

Now Marc and Chelsea are in their early thirties and purchased a $10.5 million NYC apartment.

> **Has anyone heard mention of any of this in any of the media?**
>
> **If this guy was Jenna or Barbara Bush's, or better yet, Sarah Palin's daughter's father-in- law, the news would be an everyday headline and every detail would be reported over and over and over.**
>
> **And yet liberals say there are no double standards in political reporting.**
>
> **And people are already talking about Hillary as our next President!**
>
> **And then there is possibly Chelsea for president in our future!**
>
> **The cycle never ends!**
>
> **Lying and corruption seem to make Democrat candidates more popular.**
>
> # WAKE UP AMERICA

-- --

I have removed all previous addresses before sending this to you as well as sending it to you as a "blind copy". Please remove my address before forwarding.

From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2018 3:19:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Michael Wolff: My Insane Year Inside Trump's White House

Read this
https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.hollywoodreporter.com/amp/news/michael-wolff-my-insane-year-inside-trumps-white-house-1071504

Sent from my iPhone

From: Faith Kates [redacted]
Sent: 11/23/2017 2:41:19 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Have fun!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:36 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

david fizel. hanson. trump

On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:32 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:

> He's such a snooze who else is down there?
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:18 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> berries color for holiday
>
> On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:16 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> That means glenn check out his red hair!!!
>>
>> Sent from my iPhone
>>
>> On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:15 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>
>> eva
>>
>> On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:14 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
>>
>>> Ok dylan will want to see you I always want to see you. Where are you having thanksgiving?
>>>
>>> Sent from my iPhone
>>>
>>> On Nov 23, 2017, at 8:12 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>>
>>> all next week
>>>
>>> On Thu, Nov 23, 2017 at 8:11 AM, Faith Kates <[redacted]> wrote:
>>>
>>>> Fun!!! When are you back in NYC?
>>>>
>>>> Sent from my iPhone
>>>>
>>>> On Nov 23, 2017, at 7:54 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>>>
>>>> hope today is fun for you.
>>>>
>>>> --

please note

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From: Peggy Siegal [redacted]
Sent: 11/20/2017 8:09:46 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer [redacted]jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
Attachments: image001.png; image002.png; image003.png

Dear Steven,

See below:

Company Name: The Peggy Siegal Company
Contact Name: Peggy Siegal
Address: 750 Lexington Avenue 5th Floor New York, New York 10022.

Best,
Rebecca

From: Steven Pfeiffer [[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, November 16, 2017 4:23 PM
To: jeffrey E.; Peggy Siegal
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

Sounds good, works for me.

So, Peggy, if you could just let me know what info to include on the donation letter and invoice, I'll send that along your way.

COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
CONTACT NAME:
ADDRESS LINE 1:
ADDRESS LINE 2:

Thanks,
Steven

Steven Pfeiffer
Associate Director, Development
Independent Filmmaker Project

Made in NY Media Center by IFP
30 John Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
p: [redacted]
www.ifp.org

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:40 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

just send to peggy. you her co . its better for her

On Thu, Nov 16, 2017 at 3:38 PM, Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]> wrote:

> Hi Jeffrey –
>
> Sounds good. Thanks so much for confirming. If you or someone in your office could provide the information below, I can send along an invoice and contribution letter for your $10K donation toward the chairs.
>
> COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
> CONTACT NAME:
> ADDRESS LINE 1:
> ADDRESS LINE 2:
>
> Many thanks.
>
> Best,
> Steven
>
> **Steven Pfeiffer**
> **Associate Director, Development**
> Independent Filmmaker Project
>
> Made in NY Media Center by IFP
> 30 John Street
> Brooklyn, NY 11201
> p: [redacted]
> www.ifp.org
>
> ---
>
> **From:** "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
> **Date:** Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:26 PM
> **To:** Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>, Richard Kahn <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
>
> happy to buy your 10k of chairs and will need me plus 3 seats.
>
> On Thu, Nov 16, 2017 at 1:36 PM, Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Hello Jeffrey –
>>
>> I hope all is well with you. As per Peggy Siegal's office, I have included here the invitation to the IFP Gotham Awards ceremony, which will be held on Monday, November 27 at Cipriani Wall Street in New York City.
>>
>> This year's ceremony is going to be another successful event. We couldn't be more thrilled with this year's impressive group of Tributees. The Actress Tribute will go to **Nicole Kidman** and the Actor Tribute to **Dustin Hoffman**. The Director Tribute will be given to **Sofia Coppola**, with the Cinematographer Tribute going to **Ed Lachman**. With the Industry Tribute, we will be honoring **Jason Blum**, founder of Blumhouse Productions. And we simply couldn't be more pleased to honor Vice President **Al Gore** with this year's special Humanitarian Tribute. With nominees this year

>> ranging from **Willem Dafoe, Adam Sandler** and **Robert Pattison** to **Margot Robbie, Lois Smith** and **Mary J. Blige**, this year's ceremony looks to be the most star studded ever.
>>
>> Please let me know if you have any questions.
>>
>> Best regards,
>> Steven
>>
>> **Steven Pfeiffer**
>> **Associate Director, Development**
>> Independent Filmmaker Project
>>
>> Made in NY Media Center by IFP
>> 30 John Street
>> Brooklyn, NY 11201
>> p: [redacted]
>> www.ifp.org

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From: Steven Pfeiffer [redacted]
Sent: 11/16/2017 9:23:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Peggy Siegal [redacted]
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
Attachments: image001.png; image002.png; image003.png

Sounds good, works for me.

So, Peggy, if you could just let me know what info to include on the donation letter and invoice, I'll send that along your way.

COMPANY NAME (if applicable):
CONTACT NAME:
ADDRESS LINE 1:
ADDRESS LINE 2:

Thanks,
Steven

Steven Pfeiffer
Associate Director, Development
Independent Filmmaker Project

Made in NY Media Center by IFP
30 John Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
[redacted]
www.ifp.org

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:40 PM
To: Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards

just send to peggy. you her co . its better for her

On Thu, Nov 16, 2017 at 3:38 PM, Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]> wrote:

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> ADDRESS LINE 1:
> ADDRESS LINE 2:
>
> Many thanks.
>
> Best,
> Steven
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> ---
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> **Date:** Thursday, November 16, 2017 at 3:26 PM
> **To:** Steven Pfeiffer <[redacted]>, Peggy Siegal <[redacted]>, Richard Kahn <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re: 2017 IFP Gotham Awards
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>> I hope all is well with you. As per Peggy Siegal's office, I have included here the invitation to the IFP Gotham Awards ceremony, which will be held on Monday, November 27 at Cipriani Wall Street in New York City.
>>
>> This year's ceremony is going to be another successful event. We couldn't be more thrilled with this year's impressive group of Tributees. The Actress Tribute will go to **Nicole Kidman** and the Actor Tribute to **Dustin Hoffman**. The Director Tribute will be given to **Sofia Coppola**, with the Cinematographer Tribute going to **Ed Lachman**. With the Industry Tribute, we will be honoring **Jason Blum**, founder of Blumhouse Productions. And we simply couldn't be more pleased to honor Vice President **Al Gore** with this year's special Humanitarian Tribute. With nominees this year ranging from **Willem Dafoe, Adam Sandler** and **Robert Pattison** to **Margot Robbie, Lois Smith** and **Mary J. Blige**, this year's ceremony looks to be the most star studded ever.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Best regards,
Steven

Steven Pfeiffer
Associate Director, Development
Independent Filmmaker Project

Made in NY Media Center by IFP
30 John Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
p: [redacted]
www.ifp.org

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From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 7/16/2017 12:23:00 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Saw Matt C with DJT at golf tournament I know why he was there

Sent from my iPhone

From: Terje Rod-Larsen [redacted]
Sent: 5/27/2017 11:19:59 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: US Saudi Arms deal but Note Blackstone Infrastructure Fund with SAMA

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Richard John Nawrot <[redacted]>
Date: May 23, 2017 at 15:13:12 GMT+4
To: Terje Rod-Larsen <[redacted]>
Cc: Andreas Kraus <[redacted]>, George Henderson <[redacted]>
Subject: US Saudi Arms deal but Note Blackstone Infrastructure Fund with SAMA

Terje, the attached article appeared in todays FT, I have removed the defence part related to the US$110bn arms deal but highlighted the separate deal done with Blackstone to establish a fund for US infrastructure this is akin / precedent to what we seek to achieve with SAMA focused on global investment fund in Airport Infrastructure — Best Richard.

US President Donald Trump began his first foreign trip with a stop in Saudi Arabia, where a $110bn arms package was announced that the White House hopes will help Saudi Arabia and other gulf states combat terrorism in the region and ward off threats from Iran.

US defence companies lifted by Saudi deals

Lockheed Martin and Boeing stand out after Saudi Arabia signs a flurry of deals

Separately, the kingdom's sovereign wealth fund has also announced a large investment in US infrastructure through a new Blackstone fund. The sovereign Public Investment Fund intends to invest $20bn into Blackstone's new vehicle, with a further $20bn coming from other investors. The group's stock price rose 6.7 per cent to $31.88.

From: [redacted]
Sent: 5/8/2017 3:23:05 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re:

explain

In a message dated 5/8/2017 11:19:08 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

> careful she is nottrustworthy at ALLL
>
> On Mon, May 8, 2017 at 10:43 AM, Jonathan Farkas <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > I am seeing Heidi a little bit I don't think it will turn into romance I am a bit old and not tall enough but she seems intelligent and kind Somers got an appointment from Trump she is on The White House Fellowship Commison it came through Woody and Suzanne Johnson because she bundled best Jonathan
> >
> > Sent from my iPhone
>
> --
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 6/6/2014 2:23:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: nanosatelites are getting hot

http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21603441-where-nanosats-boldly-go-new-businesses-will-followunless-they-are-smothered-excessive

Technology – Full text articles

Satellites: Space: the next startup frontier
The Economist

AROUND 1,000 operational satellites are circling the Earth, some of them the size and weight of a large car. In the past year they have been joined by junior offspring: 100 or so small satellites, some of them made up of one or more 10cm (4-inch) cubes. They may be tiny, but each is vastly more capable than Sputnik, the first man-made satellite launched by Russia in 1957. And many more are coming.

Space hardware used to cost so much that it was available only to generals, multinationals and the most privileged scientists. No more. Many of these nanosats, as small satellites weighing no more than a few kilograms are called, have been launched for small companies, startups and university departments, sometimes with finance raised on crowdfunding websites. Their construction costs can be down in the tens of thousands of dollars, which makes them thousands of times cheaper than today's big satellites. Admittedly, there is much they cannot do, but with that sort of price differential, and some ingenious use of the abilities they do have, they could be surprisingly competitive players on a number of fronts. In the next five years another 1,000 nanosats are expected to be launched.

Two trends are setting up nanosats for further success. Like people working on everything from robots to 3D printers, nanosat builders are harvesting the benefits of ever better, ever cheaper components built for smartphones and other consumer electronics. Some nanosats even contain complete smartphones, making use of the clever operating systems, radios and cameras which phones now contain. For as long as phones go on getting cheaper and more capable, so will nanosats. The cheapest so far—a tiny chipsat—was assembled for just $25, though it has yet to be successfully launched.

The launch systems too are getting much cheaper. SpaceX, the innovative rocket-maker founded by Elon Musk, has already brought down the costs of getting into space; it and its competitors could reduce them a lot further. The biggest beneficiaries will at first be people who make big satellites. But more big satellites will mean more opportunities for small satellites to piggy-back on their launches. And some companies are looking at cheap little launch systems tailored specifically to the needs of the nanosatellite. One reason space engineers are notoriously conservative is that the costs of failure are high. As making and launching satellites gets cheaper, it will be ever easier for innovative, risk-taking nanosat-makers to orbit around the lumbering incumbents.

Size does impose limits. Nanosats cannot peer as closely at the Earth or carry out as many experiments as big satellites. But for some jobs that does not matter. The plans that companies already have include using nanosats for monitoring crops, studying the sun and tracking ships and aircraft. Such a system might have been able to track Malaysian Airlines flight MH370, which went missing in March.

Nano can do

Yet not everyone is thrilled. One worry is that constellations of nanosats will mean a big increase in space junk; but, operating in low-Earth orbit, they burn up on re-entry after a year or so. And being cheap, they can soon be replaced with newer models. A more serious concern is that they are a “dual-use” technology: they could be used for military purposes. In America this has led to onerous restrictions.

Barack Obama's administration has sensibly repealed a law of 1999 that required all satellites to be licensed by the State Department as munitions under the International Traffic in Arms Regulations (ITAR). This could mean that most commercial satellites will be removed from ITAR by the end of the year and their export administered by the Commerce Department. But some satellite systems and spacecraft—including anything that can carry people into space—will remain under ITAR.

Care needs to be taken with military kit, but America's regulations still seem excessive. A regular review to distinguish between systems that pose a real threat and ones that don't would be a help, as would better intelligence. Tight restrictions on new technologies will not work, and will damage America's interests: exciting new ventures like nanosats will simply move to countries from which they can be launched with greater ease.

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Nanosatellites: Nanosats are go!

The Economist

ALTHOUGH widely used, satellites are expensive to build and to launch. That began to change last year. On November 19th Orbital Sciences, an American company, launched a rocket from the Wallops Flight Facility in Virginia. It carried 29 satellites aloft and released them into low-Earth orbit, a record for a single mission. Thirty hours later, Kosmotras, a Russian joint-venture, carried 32 satellites into a similar orbit. Then, in January 2014, Orbital Sciences carried 33 satellites up to the International Space Station (ISS), where they were cast off a month later.

Many of these 94 satellites were built in a standard format known as a CubeSat, a 10cm (4 inch) cube weighing 1.3kg (2.9lb) or less. Some comprised units of two or three cubes. After a decade of fits and starts, during which some 75 CubeSats were launched, satellites of this scale and other small satellites are moving from being experimental kit to delivering useful scientific data and commercial services.

In the next five years or so some 1,000 nanosats, as small satellites of 1-10kg are called, are expected to be launched. Some will be smaller than a CubeSat; others bigger and heavier. Some are like a matryoshka doll: the Russian launch included a satellite that launched eight smaller ones, including four PocketQubes (a 5cm cube format). One of these smaller satellites, developed in Peru, released its own tiny bird.

There will be upsets along the way. In April, as part of a mission by SpaceX, an American company, to resupply the ISS, a small mothership was placed in orbit carrying 104 "sprites" (pictured below). Not much larger than a postage stamp, these contain all the basic elements of a satellite, such as a radio, aerials, a solar cell and instruments. Developed as part of a crowd-funded project called KickSat at Cornell University, each sprite cost just $25 in parts. Their launch was free, courtesy of NASA, the American space agency. The sprites were designed to remain in orbit for a few weeks collecting data before burning up on re-entry. Unfortunately, due to a fault with a timer, the mothership failed to release them before it burned up on re-entry. A second mission is now being planned.

No going back

Despite that setback, the way ahead for satellite technology is clear. "You can now, with a single chip, create most of the capabilities that you would have found in Sputnik, but, of course, orders of magnitude faster," says Mason Peck, a former chief technologist at NASA and now a professor at Cornell University.

The most ambitious project to date is a flock of 28 nanosats, each one three CubeSats in size (ie, 30cm long). These were carried to the ISS in January and released in batches (pictured at the beginning of this article) through a sort of satellite shooter developed by NanoRacks, an American company. These nanosats came from Planet Labs, a firm based in San Francisco. The satellites now take pictures as they scan the Earth more frequently than traditional ones and at a fraction of the cost, albeit at a lower resolution.

Planet Labs, funded modestly with $65m of private investment, says its nanosats provide much of the performance of a conventional satellite for a fraction of the cost. That reflects a lot of antiquated technology in the space business, much of which can be bettered by the latest off-the-shelf equipment, says Will Marshall, Planet Labs' boss. There are other cost-saving measures. Satellites are usually built in elaborate clean rooms, but Planet Labs assembles its nanosats in "clean-enough" rooms in its downtown offices. The company expects to put another 100 nanosats into orbit in the next 12 to 18 months.

A few miles away, in another modest San Francisco office, Nanosatisfi is working on its ArduSats. These are open-source platforms and two have already gone up. They will contain an array of sensors and can carry out various missions, such as locating things. More than 250,000 ships, for instance, now broadcast an automatic identification signal than carries about 50 nautical miles. A fleet of small satellites in low orbit could pick up these signals and provide frequent updates about the ships' positions without the vessels having to use costly dedicated satellite uplinks. Such a system might have been able to track Malaysian Airlines flight MH370, which went missing in March.

Farther south in Mountain View, Skybox captures high-resolution imaging data from its first satellite in orbit as it prepares another 23 to launch in the coming years. Some things, though, can be shrunk only so far and larger satellites are needed for a telescope to obtain the higher resolutions required for the firm's analysis. While Skybox's minisatellites weigh around 100kg, a fairly common size for small satellites, the firm proved its concept to investors using CubeSats. "Being able to put something in space at very low cost allows you to demonstrate the technology to get more money," says Dan Berkenstock, one of the company's founders.

The CubeSat specification came out of the academic world in the late 1990s. Bob Twiggs, then at Stanford University and now at Morehead State University, was frustrated by long delays on a large-satellite programme and set about thinking how much satellite capability might be crammed into a much smaller craft that could be launched cheaply. Space launches usually comprise one or more primary payloads and require ballast to balance the rocket. CubeSats, reasoned Mr Twiggs, could take the place of some of this ballast, so long as they did not jeopardise the main mission. The optimum size Mr Twiggs came up with was based on a box used to display Beanie Babies. Later, with Jordi Puig-Suari of California Polytechnic State University, it was turned into a full specification. Mr Twiggs also developed the 5cm PocketQube, which has a maximum weight of 180 grammes.

Small satellites benefit from the constant improvements in price and performance being achieved by the consumer-electronics industry, particularly in smartphones. A typical phone is now likely to contain an accelerometer to measure how fast it is moving, a magnetometer to detect magnetic fields and provide a compass reading, a GPS receiver to pick up satellite data, multiple radios, a gyroscope to measure its position, a barometer to detect pressure, two cameras and much more.

Last year the world's first "phonesat" went into orbit. It was a Google Nexus One smartphone incorporated into a three-unit CubeSat called STRaND-1. This was built by Surrey Satellite Technology, a British firm that specialises in small satellites and which is part of the European Airbus group. The idea was to test the components of the smartphone in a space environment. The phone was loaded with a number of experimental apps for such things as taking photographs and recording magnetic fields during orbit.

Smartphones and other consumer electronics provide a wealth of ready-made technologies that can enable a CubeSat to perform many of the functions of a satellite a hundred times heavier and much larger, but at substantially less cost. Including the launch, a nanosat of CubeSat dimensions might cost $150,000-1m, rather than $200m-1 billion for a full-sized one.

Low cost and a tolerance of less-stringent standards allow multiple nanosats to be built faster. This allows for a higher risk of failure. Nanosats have a relatively short life, which might be no more than a year or two in low-Earth orbit before re-entering the atmosphere and burning up. Planet Labs, for one, expects to replace some of its nanosats with new versions every year.

Into space in a flash

In an industry in which preparing some missions has taken decades, the speed at which nanosats can be developed and put into orbit makes the biggest in the space business take notice. NASA has also found ways to leverage the consumer-electronics industry, says Bruce Yost of the space agency's Ames Research Centre in California. His group (some former members of which founded Planet Labs) has launched five phonesats and is now planning a small fleet of them to experiment with communications between satellites.

Nanosat parts are readily available to researchers. One supplier, Pumpkin, operates from a residential San Francisco neighbourhood. Andrew Kalman, its founder, started in 2000 selling standard components that Mr Twiggs and his colleagues at Stanford needed. Pumpkin now sells items ranging from brackets for a few hundred dollars up to complete systems for hundreds of thousands of dollars. The company has also supplied America's National Reconnaissance Office with 12 three-unit CubeSats to help the agency demonstrate the technology.

Although many satellites already circle the globe taking pictures, some of the images may not be updated for days, months or even years. Commercial services can provide relatively rapid satellite images on demand, a number of them taking pictures down to a resolution of 50cm (ie, 50cm x 50cm per pixel, the legal limit in America for commercial satellites, although military ones can peer closer). But such satellites may cover only part of the globe each day. Once their fleets are complete, Planet Labs will offer images with resolutions of between 500cm to 300cm and Skybox, with its bigger minisatellites, 90cm. The companies will provide pictures that can be updated in hours for a variety of scientific and commercial applications.

They could, for instance, be used to track environmental conditions, illegal tree-felling or changes in the course of rivers—which, even in their initial deployment, Planet Labs has discovered happen surprisingly often. The frequency of satellite passes opens up many new possibilities, says Skybox's Mr Berkenstock. His firm can offer a stream of analysis, such as the number of trees in a forest or the number of cars at various times of the day in parking lots across America. Transport patterns can be followed, infrastructure monitored, the planting of fields, plumes from smokestacks and ships in ports can all be observed. Overlaying more and more data will provide much richer visualisation, adds Mr Berkenstock.

Nor will all the nanosats be looking downwards. Sensors facing sideways and upwards from low-Earth orbit will allow researchers to carry out a large number of experiments and to take measurements that have previously been too costly to consider. This includes detecting solar and cosmic radiation, interactions between magnetic fields and other forces which together make up what is called space weather. Measuring and predicting space weather could be used to protect billion-dollar satellites and prevent astronauts from receiving high doses of radiation. Many satellites measure aspects of space weather, but they tend to do so only in certain directions. Part of the failed KickSat experiment was to use the sprites to see if arrays of inexpensive devices could constantly monitor such forces.

Nanosats may be inexpensive, but resisting gravity's inexorable pull comes with a price tag. Although there is no standard price list for a launch, a CubeSat costs roughly $100,000 to put each 1.3kg unit into low-Earth orbit. A three-unit CubeSat might cost as much as $400,000. Jeff Foust, an analyst at Futron, a consultancy, studies launch costs and says he has heard of charges as low as $30,000 for a single CubeSat launched on a Russian rocket.

These prices put nanosats in the reach not just of small firms, but also of start-ups and researchers relying on academic grants. Some schools are also planning nanosat experiments. Bulk-buying launches for heavier combined payloads can work out, per kilo, even cheaper. And these costs could come down, too. Elon Musk, SpaceX's boss, has consistently predicted substantial price drops in launch costs, even to as little as $200 per kilo. The firm's Falcon 9 rocket recently demonstrated a successful controlled descent of its booster stage, which would allow it to be reused.

There is plenty of innovation in putting smaller payloads into space. Interorbital Systems, a Californian company, recently carried out a successful suborbital test flight of a small rocket (pictured right) designed to carry a 145kg payload. The company has presold berths for dozens of CubeSats at $13,000-38,000 per unit, as well as its own TubeSat format, which it offers to academia as kit and launch for $8,000.

NASA will test an air-launched system in 2016 with Generation Orbit, an Atlanta company. It uses a Gulfstream G-IV executive jet to carry aloft a rocket which it fires off to put 45-50kg payloads into low-Earth orbit. NASA is also working with Virgin Galactic, a private space venture led by Richard Branson. Virgin Galactic has developed its LauncherOne, another air-launched rocket. It can be flown to a higher altitude and carry payloads up to 225kg.

Neither Generation Orbit or Virgin Galactic may come down much on price, as both see a profit to be made in offering regular launches, even weekly ones. Operators whose nanosats ride shotgun as ballast in other missions do not have much control over when they launch or the orbits they reach, says William Pomerantz, the head of special projects at Virgin Galactic. John Olds, boss of Generation Orbit, says that as constellations of nanosats increase, placing them in a precise orbit will be critical in keeping small-satellite networks operating.

The nanosat wars

Nanosats also face two other limiting factors: communications and propulsion. Those used for academic work principally rely on amateur-radio frequencies, with basic equipment squeezed into the CubeSat form. Transmission and reception are further hindered by the size of antennae or dishes, both on the ground and on the satellites. Many academic projects set up their own listening stations and recruit space buffs who can use inexpensive kit, but these work on an informal basis. Companies tend to use licensed frequencies and plump for more expensive radio gear to handle their data flows. More development in communications equipment and investment in ground stations would improve things.

The other bugbear, propulsion, is harder to solve. Currently, launch operators can prevent nanosats carrying hazardous propellants that might be used to power them to another orbit. Nor have engineers had a reason to design tiny spaceship engines using safer fuel. But they do now. Even a basic capability to push in one direction would allow nanosats to remain in orbit longer, or allow a satellite that has been placed into low-Earth orbit, using an inexpensive launch provider, to nudge itself to a higher geostationary orbit. And some might travel far beyond Earth.

Benjamin Longmier of the University of Michigan and founder of Aether Industries, which makes equipment for high-altitude research, has begun production of a nanosat propulsion system based on his previous work at the Johnson Space Station in Texas. This is a rocket that uses ionised propellants accelerated by magnetic fields. He has been able to scale this down to CubeSat size, using liquid water or solid iodine as the propellant. Dr Longmier says the system could allow a constellation of satellites to remain in the correct position relative to one another, move satellites to polar orbit from less-expensive launch insertions or increase an orbit.

Surrey Satellite Technology's STRaND-1 also contained a couple of experimental propulsion systems. One is a re-entry device that ejects a mixture of water and alcohol to tip the nanosat out of orbit at the end of its useful life. The other is an array of pulsed-plasma thrusters which heat and evaporate a material to produce a charged gas to push the satellite along.

NASA has plans to offer a $5m prize using a six-unit CubeSat for groups to demonstrate ways both to communicate across large distances and display the effective use of unconventional propellants. Jennifer Gustetic, in charge of NASA's prizes, says the winner will have to show that their systems are survivable and can be operated far out into space. The programme is still at an early stage, but it could involve transporting the CubeSats for release into orbit around the Moon. But NASA has competition. Dr Longmier believes his technology can beat NASA to the Moon without the use of an additional spacecraft to carry the CubeSats there. And James Cutler, a satellite-propulsion expert now also at the University of Michigan, thinks he can propel small birds even deeper into space. Let the nanosat wars begin.

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From: Intelligence Squared [info@intelligencesquared.com]
Sent: 6/12/2019 11:23:58 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Last Remaining Tickets: Mark Zuckerberg On Trial – Will He Be Held Accountable?

Last Remaining Tickets: Mark Zuckerberg On Trial – Will He Be Held Accountable?

View in browser

The linked image cannot be displayed. The file may have been moved, renamed, or deleted. Verify that the link points to the correct file and location.

Mark Zuckerberg on Trial:
Facebook is Damaging Society

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ADD TO CALENDAR

TUESDAY 18TH JUNE, 7PM

EMMANUEL CENTRE

Featuring Damian Collins, Nina Schick, Torricke-Barton, Ed Vaizey, Helen Lewis

BUY TICKETS

Zuck sucks. According to his critics, Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook, presides over a company which is undermining our basic freedoms. It was complicit in the spread of fake news and foreign interference in our elections, and is partly to blame for the rise of political polarisation through its echo chambers and filter bubbles. The company has been selling the private data of millions of users around the world to select companies – most notoriously Cambridge Analytica, who used the information to meddle in the US presidential elections and Britain's EU referendum. And Facebook was accused of behaving like 'digital gangsters' by the House of Commons Digital Select Committee, led by **Damian Collins MP**, who claimed Zuckerberg has willfully misled lawmakers over fake news and data malpractice. Facebook is built on an essentially unethical business model, and the buck stops with Zuck.

That's the case against Mark Zuckerberg. But let's keep things in perspective, say his defenders. Facebook has done more than any other organisation in the world to connect people through technology, allowing more than 2.2 billion users so far – that's 30 percent of the world's population – to share their lives with friends and family around the world – all for free. And let's not forget that Facebook has been a vital tool for social and political organisation, from the Arab Spring to Obama's presidential campaign. The world is a complex and messy place and while it's convenient to scapegoat a single CEO for our polarised politics, the fact is there were multiple causes for Brexit and Trump. Of course, there are problems at Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg is keenly aware of them. In January 2018, he made a promise to fix Facebook, admitting that the organisation makes too many errors and listing his priorities as 'protecting our community from abuse and hate, defending against interference by nation states, or making sure that time spent on Facebook is time well spent'. Much of what we are reading about Facebook is old news. Zuckerberg is essentially an idealist and we should at least give him the benefit of the doubt as he seeks to rebuild the world's trust in Facebook.

That's the argument of Zuckerberg's defenders. But are they right? Join us on June 18, hear the arguments and decide for yourself.

Damian Collins

Conservative MP for Folkestone and Hythe and chair of the House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee. He has played a key role in parliamentary scrutiny of Facebook's activities, including invoking a rare parliamentary mechanism to seize internal Facebook documents over the Cambridge Analytica scandal.

Nina Schick

Technology expert and political commentator focusing on how technology and artificial intelligence are reshaping democracy and geopolitics. She was a recent political advisor to former NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, leading research into next-generation disinformation in the form of AI-generated deep fakes. She is a regular commentator on Sky News, BBC and Bloomberg.

Dex Torricke-Barton

Former head of executive communications for Facebook. Over the last decade he has advised some of Silicon Valley's most prominent leaders and companies. He was Mark Zuckerberg's speechwriter from 2012-16, and was previously executive speechwriter for Google's Eric Schmidt. He has also head of communications for SpaceX, Elon Musk's rocket company.

Ed Vaizey

Conservative MP for Wantage and Didcot, who served as Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries from 2010 to 2016 under David Cameron.

Helen Lewis

Helen Lewis is associate editor of the New Statesman, and has written on technology for the Sunday Times, Wired and the Guardian. Her first book, *Difficult Women*, is out next year.

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The Daily: The Rise of Nationalism Across the Globe

In this week's podcast, we hosted a live conversation from "The Daily", The New York Times' flagship podcast. In an event in partnership with The New York Times, we were joined by the podcast's host **Michael Barbaro**, as well as Berlin Bureau Chief **Katrin Bennhold**, London-based International Correspondent **Ellen Barry**, Executive Producer **Theo Balcomb** and Producer **Clare Toeniskoetter** for a conversation about the implications of the nationalist undercurrent currently sweeping across Europe.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/24/2014 7:06:50 AM
To: soon yi previ[redacted]

When I was 8 years old, I watched my trial-lawyer father play Horace Vandergelder in the Livingston, N.J., community-theater production of “Hello, Dolly!” He entered wearing an enormous marching-band bass drum (the character is in a parade), and he roared to his sobbing niece, “Dammit! How am I supposed to play ‘Yonkers My Yonkers’ with all that bellowing in my ears!” It was the most exciting thing I had ever seen.

I was a melancholic child. Worried, anxious. I never felt as if I belonged anywhere, as if I were a foreign exchange student living among the other kids, who seemed predestined to love sports. Add to that alienation the fact that my parents were going through a divorce, and I was truly treading water. But in that junior high school auditorium, I felt like I’d discovered a secret I didn’t even know was being whispered. There was a place where I might belong: It was the Theater, and I was sold.

A few years later, at Stagedoor Manor in Loch Sheldrake, N.Y., I joined an intensive theater boot camp for kids just like me. The second I stepped off the bus, I felt like baby Simba when he’s lifted into the air in “The Lion King” and all the animals sing. Everyone was affectionate; everyone hugged; no was called “gay” for doing anything that wasn’t masculine. (My insecurity about this had shamefully kept me from doing theater in school.) It was utopia, and I never wanted to leave.

Photo

From left, Helene Yorke, Zach Braff and Lenny Wolpe in the musical “Bullets Over Broadway.” Credit Sara Krulwich/The New York Times

It was there I met Michael Larsen, the musical director of the camp. He told me that I wasn’t just a camper having fun, but that I also had talent. And he was tough — sometimes he’d scream at me — but I knew it was because he thought I had a shot. (Michael was the first of many gay men instrumental in guiding me to where I am now, which is why I try to speak on behalf of gay rights whenever I can. But I suppose that’s a different essay.)

At 18, I was cast as Woody Allen and Diane Keaton’s son in the film “Manhattan Murder Mystery,” my first movie role. And now, after studying film and theater at Northwestern University, playing J. D. on “Scrubs” on TV for nine years and directing two films, I’m working with Woody Allen again. I’m typing these words in my dressing room at the St. James Theater, where on April 10 I’ll open in “Bullets Over Broadway,” a musical adaptation of his hit film. I play David Shayne, a struggling writer in 1929 New York who agrees to cast a mobster’s ditsy girlfriend in one of his plays in order to get it produced.

The St. James is where Yul Brynner opened in “The King and I” in 1951; where hits like “Oklahoma!,” “The Pajama Game,” “Gypsy,” “The Who’s Tommy,” and “The Producers” played, and where, in 1964, by the most surreal of coincidences, Carol Channing first descended an endless staircase in “Hello, Dolly!” I sit in Dressing Room 201, where many of the great luminaries of the Broadway stage — Patti LuPone, Nathan Lane, Mandy Patinkin — have paced waiting for the intercom to chime, “Places for Act I, please.” This is the sanctuary that a little invisible boy in New Jersey dreamed he’d one day find.

Photo

Zach Braff in a 1988 production of "Godspell" at Stagedoor Manor. Credit Stagedoor Manor

It’s my first time on Broadway, but not my first time onstage. My first job straight out of college was in George C. Wolfe’s production of “Macbeth” at the Public Theater, starring Alec Baldwin, Liev Schreiber, Angela Bassett and Michael C. Hall, and I’ve since appeared Off Broadway in shows at the Delacorte and Second Stage Theater.

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The first day of rehearsal for “Macbeth,” Alec Baldwin sat down next to me. “Who do you play?” he asked. My voice quivered: “Ummm, I play Fleance and Young Seward.” He paused. “Oh — so I kill you twice.” Each night, as he drove his broadsword through my heart, I thought, “I’ve made it!”

In the sixth season of “Scrubs,” the show’s creator, Bill Lawrence (also a major fan of musical comedy), decided to do a musical episode. It was the first time I had done musical comedy since I was at camp, and it instantly reminded me how much I loved it. My favorite song from the episode was called “Guy Love.” In it, Donald Faison (my best friend in real life and on the show) and I sang about how our homoerotic love for each other was nothing to apologize for. (“It’s guy love, that’s all it is.”) The experience replanted the seed, and I made a promise to myself: One day I would sing on Broadway.

Photo

Zach Braff, left, and Donald Faison on “Scrubs,” which had a musical episode in its sixth season. Credit ABC

I’d be curled in the fetal position spooning a pillow right now, though, if it weren’t for my current director, Susan Stroman. Directing and choreographing a musical is the most epic undertaking for one human being, yet Susan (or Stro, as the cool Broadway kids call her) handles it with aplomb.

And she’s not just choreographing the actors and dancers, but also the magnificent set designed by Santo Loquasto, which moves in ways I didn’t know scenery could move. It’s a dance of men and women and machines and winches and elevators and lights. The wings of the St. James are very narrow, so when a giant piece of scenery disappears from the audience’s view, the most elaborate game of Tetris begins, as the outstanding stage crew turns and lifts and twists; not an inch is wasted. The second the orchestra strikes the first note of the overture, no one stops moving until the final curtain hits the deck.

During “Manhattan Murder Mystery,” I had every word of my lines memorized down to the punctuation mark. I’ll never forget: The first thing Woody said to me was, “We’re probably not going to say exactly what’s on the page so ... you know ... just try to keep up. ...” While we’ve been in previews on “Bullets,” he and Stro have been giving us notes each day on the previous night’s performance. One night, I dropped a great joke by accident. He said to me with a smile, “You’ll probably get a bigger laugh if you actually say it onstage.”

All the people on Broadway are the best at what they do. All dancers want to work with Stro, so she gets the best dancers in New York City. Is there an oboist in the orchestra? You can guarantee he’s the best oboist on the island of Manhattan. Need to recreate the look of 1929? The six-time Tony winner William Ivey Long is here to design the costumes. And the voices! I am in awe. There has yet to be a time when I don’t get goose bumps when Betsy Wolfe, who plays my girlfriend, belts out the final notes of our duet, “I Found a New Baby.”

In TV and film, where I've had the bulk of my experience, the best moments of the day are edited together to create the best version of what you've captured. It's a different art, with a different process. But when the curtain rises at 8:05 every night at the St. James, the audience is being treated to a ballet of moving parts as intricate as a pocket watch. Whether it's the 19-piece orchestra under the stage, the crew in the wings or the 30 performers on top of it, the gears turn, the set spins and a tiny hidden smile creeps across my face.

Zach Braff is an actor, writer and director. His new film, "Wish I Was Here," opens July 18.

A version of this article appears in print on March 23, 2014, on page AR6 of the New York edition with the headline: An Invisible Boy Keeps His Promise. Order Reprints|Today's Paper|Subscribe

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Date: Monday, January 13 2014 08:14 PM

Subject: mission acomplished for some

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]

To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Philanthropy – Full text articles

Revealed: the world's most admired people
Stephan Shakespeare **– Times**

Bill Gates is the most admired person in the world, according to a global survey for The Times by YouGov. The man who many see as responsible for the democratisation of computing and who is the biggest activist philanthropist across the globe is highly regarded everywhere.

In his home, America, he ranks only 5th, behind Pope Francis, President Obama, Billy Graham, and George W. Bush. Mr Obama and the Pope have a strong lead in Western nations but Mr Gates is highly regarded in every country polled, from Brazil to Egypt, Nigeria to Indonesia, Britain to Russia to Australia. He tops the poll in China — as respondents there said: "He got into a good university, but gave up studying to start his business. He has become a rich man despite dropping out of school . . . He has a successful career and a caring heart — he is ordinary, but great."

The Queen came highest in Britain and second in Australia, but didn't make the Indian top ten. Nevertheless she is the most admired woman in the world, in 17th place, closely followed by Angelina Jolie and Oprah Winfrey.

Half of the top ten admired in Russia are women, including the pop singer Alla Pugacheva and the Queen. That is the highest figure in all countries surveyed — women are strikingly under-represented.

Some light is shed on this by comparing our results with a recent Gallup poll in America, which asked for most admired man and woman in separate questions. In that poll, Bill Clinton scored 2 per cent and Hillary Clinton 15. YouGov asked a single question, not differentiating men and women, and the two Clintons rated about the same. The two polls also show the power of the media to direct public attention: Gallup polled early in December, and Pope Francis was "most admired" by only 4 per cent. By the time of the YouGov survey, Time magazine had made him its Person of the Year, and he shot up to 21 per cent.

Business leaders did well in general. YouGov puts Sir Richard Branson 4th in Britain, the Hong Kong billionaire Sir Li Kashing was sixth in China; the Nigerian industrialist Aliko Dangote was third in his home country; Silvio Santos, a media billionaire, was 4th in Brazil; Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the tycoon recently freed by Vladimir Putin, was 8th in Russia; while Warren Buffett, who is admired in India, Pakistan and China, was 8th in the world.

Actors and musicians do less well. With the exception of the Bollywood superstar Amitabh Bachchan, Ms Jolie and Stephen Fry, who confirms his enormous Twitter following by making 7th in Britain, just below Desmond Tutu. Johnny Depp and Brad Pitt get close to the top in a couple of countries and Justin Bieber did well in Indonesia, but the rock star and anti-poverty campaigner Bono is notable by his absence.

Sportsmen were more highly regarded, with the Indian cricketer Sachin Tendulkar 5th in the world — but only because he is so adored in the world's second-most populous country. The footballer Lionel Messi had broader support, reaching 15th in the world. In Britain, David Beckham squeaked into 10th place.

In only two countries of the 13 surveyed did no local politician make it into the top ten — Australia and the UK. The omission was most striking in Britain where Nigel Farage, the top politician, was in 16th place. David Cameron received the "most admired" accolade from only two people in a thousand. In Germany, Angela Merkel scored 65 times higher at 13 per cent, second only to the Pope. Vladimir Putin topped the Russian poll with a whopping 24 per cent, Nicolas Sarkozy was third in France and Goodluck Jonathan 8th in Nigeria. Edward Snowden, responsible for leaking classified documents that revealed the extent of surveillance by America's National Security Agency, was 10th most admired in the country that granted him asylum, Russia. He also showed strongly in Germany. We also asked who was the most famous person in the world. The overwhelming choice was Mr Obama, with 26 per cent, and Mr Gates behind on 12.

YouGov polled in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, the US, Australia, Pakistan, Indonesia, India, China, Egypt, Nigeria and Brazil, representing over half of the world's population and the most populated country on each continent, and spoke to total of 13,895 people around the world. We used a mix of internet and mobile phone surveys. In most countries we achieved representative samples but in some we were unable to achieve good representation of rural communities. Our survey asked two open-ended questions, seeking write-in answers: who do you think is the most famous person in the world, and who do you personally most admire?

Although we specified that only living people should be considered, many wanted to choose Nelson Mandela anyway, and had we conducted the survey a month earlier he would have come top. In China there was significant support for Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, with 14 per cent between them, and had those respondents considered only the living, Xi Jinping would have scored even more highly.

Who's Who
- Narendra Modi, an Indian politician, is the prime ministerial candidate of the BJP, the main opposition party.
- Amitabh Bachchan is a Bollywood superstar, who was the "angry young man" of Hindi cinema.
- Abdul Kalam is an Indian scientist and was president of his country 2002-07.
- Anna Hazare held a series of hunger strikes in India in a successful campaign for anti-corruption laws.
- Arvind Kejriwal is the Chief Minister of Delhi, and worked alongside Hazare.
- Peng Liyuan, a Chinese folk singer, is the wife of President Xi Jingping.
- The philanthropist Abdul Sattar Edhi founded the Edhi Foundation, the largest welfare organisation in Pakistan.
- Joko 'Jokowi' Widodo, the governor of Jakarta, is a populist leader who may run in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election.

Stephan Shakespeare is CEO of YouGov.

From: ehud barak [redacted]
Sent: 9/16/2013 11:12:33 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Summers withdraws from Fed race

A major blow to a friend. Lest BO takes him to replace JL.
Now he'll probably be free in the next few days. EB

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: "FT Breaking News" <FT@emailbriefings.ft.com>
Date: 15 23:50:52 2013 בספטמבר GMT+03:00
To: [redacted]
Subject: Summers withdraws from Fed race
Reply-To: "FT Breaking News" <FT409AS2.6532248@emailbriefings.ft.com>

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Sunday September 15 2013

BREAKING NEWS

Summers withdraws from Fed race

Lawrence Summers has taken himself out of the running to be the next chair of the Federal Reserve, withdrawing his name after opposition from key Democratic senators indicated they would oppose his nomination.

Mr Summers, a former Treasury Secretary and senior economic adviser to Barack Obama in his first term, galvanised opposition among left-of-centre Democrats who painted him as symbol of the wrongs of financial deregulation.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/22/2018 7:23:38 PM
To: Starr, Ken [redacted]
Subject: Re: Jed Rubenfeld

i read turley,s piece on same subject / federalist papers etc. too much in the weeds. average joe. not sure what he concluded

On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 3:17 PM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:

> Wise counsel. Thx!
>
> Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Aug 22, 2018, at 1:49 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> I think scholarly but not too much so. no one above the law. . we began leaving a kingdom. . unlikely to give king like powers to a president. on one above the law. I would like lunch pail joe to come away and think , this guy is smart . I understood . lets see what he writes about the clintons.
> someone suggested that trump could shoot someone on fifth avenue and not lose a vote. that is true , but would make little sense for him not to suffer an immediate consequence. the allowed civil depo setting precedent for criminal process , is a lawyers outline I might think of dumbing it down , again , and suggesting that you can sue your neighbor , even if you neighbor is the president. makes little sense that the you can be indicted for assaulting him but he cannot if he assaults you. low bar for civil higher bar for criminal. . at some point on your book tour I might point out how disappointed you were that the clinton and betty curries' trashcan story , was reopened . .
>
> On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 2:08 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
>> i vote yes as it makes you relevant to today rather than merely re- reciting an old tale. :) or tail?
>>
>> On Wed, Aug 22, 2018 at 12:07 PM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:
>>
>>> Can you talk? Impt. [redacted]
>>>
>>> Sent from my iPhone
>>>
>>> On Aug 17, 2018, at 9:18 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>>>
>>> thx
>>>
>>> On Fri, Aug 17, 2018 at 10:14 AM, Starr, Ken [redacted] wrote:
>>>
>>>> Good morning!
>>>>
>>>> Jed teaches crim law at Yale. Outspokenly strong on the need for procedural fairness in campus adjudicatory proceedings. Relevant to your friend's unhappy situation? If so, happy to make the connection.
>>>>
>>>> Hugs, Ken
>>>>
>>>> Sent from my iPhone

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From: Scott J. Link [redacted]
Sent: 5/30/2018 11:23:48 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; [redacted]
Subject: Memo: Sex offender Jeffrey Epstein talked to FBI to get plea deal

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FBI Epstein files say he gave info. Does it explain sweetheart deal?

Updated: 12:28 p.m. Wednesday, May 30, 2018 | Posted: 12:21 p.m. Wednesday, May 30, 2018

Uma Sanghvi WEST PALM BEACH —

Ten years after convicted Palm Beach sex offender Jeffrey Epstein escaped federal charges in connection with allegations that he paid dozens of teenage girls for sex, the FBI last week released what appears to be an explosive explanation for what many have long described as a sweetheart deal.

"Epstein has also provided information to the FBI as agreed upon," agents wrote in one of dozens of heavily redacted, decade-old memos that were unexpectedly and inexplicably posted on an FBI website known as "The Vault."

The simple declaration stunned those who have been following the tortuous and celebrity-studded case for years. It rekindled talk that the billionaire's 2008 decision to plead guilty to state charges to make the federal investigation disappear was part of a cover up to protect Epstein's high-powered friends, including President Donald Trump, former President Bill Clinton and Britain's Prince Andrew.

"That sentence obviously means something but I, too, am at a loss as to what it really means," said attorney Brad Edwards, who for a decade has been trying to unravel the mystery of Epstein's plea deal. "If there was some cooperation I would have expected that we would have been told. However, nothing surprises me at this point."

In recent years, federal prosecutors have offered various explanations for why they agreed to drop the case they were building against the 65-year-old enigmatic money manager if he pleaded guilty to state prostitution charges. In court papers, they have said they wanted to get justice for Epstein's young victims but worried a jury wouldn't believe them.

So, they have said, they negotiated a deal, allowing Epstein to plead guilty in Palm Beach County Circuit Court to one count of soliciting a minor for prostitution and another charge of soliciting prostitution. In exchange, federal prosecutors agreed to close their investigation. They have said they had no idea Epstein would only serve 13 months of an 18-month sentence in a vacant wing of the county stockade — a cell he was allowed to leave 16 hours a day, six days a week.

While voicing dismay at his lax punishment, prosecutors have pointed out that the plea deal required Epstein to pay the roughly 30 young women who filed civil lawsuits against him. Further, they said his guilty pleas force him to register as a sex offender for the rest of his life, potentially protecting other girls from abuse in the future.

However, over the years, they have never suggested that Epstein provided them any information in return.

Like Edwards, two people close to the long-closed federal investigation said they were flummoxed by the sentence in the FBI's memo that was written in September 2008, roughly two months after Epstein pleaded guilty in state court.

"I have never, ever heard of Jeffrey Epstein cooperating in any sense of the word," said one official, who requested anonymity because of the top role the person played in the investigation. "I am stumped. It's totally out of left field."

Another individual with ties to the case voiced similar views. Epstein may have been required to talk to FBI agents but it's unlikely he offered anything that would incriminate others, said the person, who declined to be identified because of ongoing efforts to help Epstein's victims challenge the plea deal. "I don't think he ever told the truth," the person said.

A lawsuit Edwards filed against the federal government, claiming prosecutors violated the Victims Rights Act by not notifying Epstein's victims of the pending plea deal, is still pending in U.S. District Court. Also, awaiting trial in Palm Beach County Circuit Court is a malicious prosecution lawsuit Edwards filed against Epstein. Edwards claims the billionaire filed a frivolous lawsuit to punish Edwards for representing a handful of Epstein's young victims.

West Palm Beach attorney Jack Goldberger, who was on Epstein's potent defense team, said he was "unable to respond" to questions about the FBI's memo. Other prominent lawyers who represented Epstein, including New York lawyer Jay Lefkowitz and retired Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz, didn't respond to requests for comment.

The one line was part of a brief missive dated Sept. 18, 2008, closing the case: "On 9/11/08, case agent advised writer that Epstein is currently being prosecuted by the State of Florida and is complying with all conditions of his plea with the State of Florida. Epstein has also provided information to the FBI as agreed upon. Case agent advised that no federal prosecution will occur in this matter as long as Epstein continues to uphold his agreement with the State of Florida. … Case agent is requested to contact writer in the event this matter moves forward on a federal level.”

The memo was one of hundreds of documents, including dozens of copies of newspaper articles about Epstein, that were posted on the FBI’s website. The website, www.vault.fbi.gov, serves as the FBI’s electronic FOIA library. The heavily redacted documents showed agents traveled to New York City, Sante Fe, N.M., and St. Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands, where Epstein has homes. But there is little information about who they interviewed or what they learned.

The only witness named in the documents is Alfredo Rodriguez, who was a houseman at Epstein’s Palm Beach mansion in 2004. That’s when Epstein regularly paid young women to give him sexually-charged massages, police said.

Rodriguez was convicted of obstruction of justice in 2010 and sentenced to 18 months in jail for trying to sell a journal he purloined from Epstein. Prosecutors said the journal detailed Epstein’s sexual dalliances. Rodriguez, who lived in Kendall, died in 2014.

Those familiar with FBI procedures said the records are administrative files, not investigative ones. Some questioned why the files were posted on the FBI’s web site. The FBI didn’t return a phone call for comment. According to the web site, the records were released “in compliance with the National Archives and Records Administration requirements.”

And while it’s been 10 years since Epstein pleaded guilty to prostitution charges and settled dozens of lawsuits with young women, litigation continues.

Scott J. Link
Board Certified Business Litigation

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Syllabus

NOTE: Where it is feasible, a syllabus (headnote) will be released, as is being done in connection with this case, at the time the opinion is issued. The syllabus constitutes no part of the opinion of the Court but has been prepared by the Reporter of Decisions for the convenience of the reader. See *United States* v. *Detroit Timber & Lumber Co.,* 200 U. S. 321, 337.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Syllabus

JAM ET AL. *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORP.

CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 17–1011. Argued October 31, 2018—Decided February 27, 2019

In 1945, Congress passed the International Organizations Immunities Act (IOIA), which, among other things, grants international organizations the "same immunity from suit . . . as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). At that time, foreign governments were entitled to virtually absolute immunity as a matter of international grace and comity. In 1952, the State Department adopted a more restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity, which Congress subsequently codified in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA), 28 U. S. C. §1602. The FSIA gives foreign sovereign governments presumptive immunity from suit, §1604, subject to several statutory exceptions, including, as relevant here, an exception for actions based on commercial activity with a sufficient nexus with the United States, §1605(a)(2).

Respondent International Finance Corporation (IFC), an IOIA international organization, entered into a loan agreement with Coastal Gujarat Power Limited, a company based in India, to finance the construction of a coal-fired power plant in Gujarat. Petitioners sued the IFC, claiming that pollution from the plant harmed the surrounding air, land, and water. The District Court, however, held that the IFC was immune from suit because it enjoyed the virtually absolute immunity that foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted. The D. C. Circuit affirmed in light of its decision in *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335.

Held: The IOIA affords international organizations the same immunity from suit that foreign governments enjoy today under the FSIA. Pp. 6–15.

(a) The IOIA "same as" formulation is best understood as making international organization immunity and foreign sovereign immunity continuously equivalent. The IOIA is thus like other statutes that use similar or identical language to place two groups on equal footing. See, *e.g.*, Civil Rights Act of 1866, 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982; Federal Tort Claims Act, 28 U. S. C. §2674. Whatever the ultimate purpose of international organization immunity may be, the immediate purpose of the IOIA immunity provision is expressed in language that Congress typically uses to make one thing continuously equivalent to another. Pp. 6–9.

(b) That reading is confirmed by the "reference canon" of statutory interpretation. When a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists whenever a question under the statute arises. In contrast, when a statute refers to another statute by specific title, the referenced statute is adopted as it existed when the referring statute was enacted, without any subsequent amendments. Federal courts have often relied on the reference canon to harmonize a statute with an external body of law that the statute refers to generally. The IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is to an external body of potentially evolving law, not to a specific provision of another statute. Nor is it a specific reference to a common law concept with a fixed meaning. The phrase "immunity enjoyed by foreign governments" is not a term of art with substantive content but rather a concept that can be given scope and content only by reference to the rules governing foreign sovereign immunity. Pp. 9–11.

(c) The D. C. Circuit relied upon *Atkinson*'s conclusion that the reference canon's probative force was outweighed by an IOIA provision authorizing the President to alter the immunity of an international organization. But the fact that the President has power to modify otherwise applicable immunity rules is perfectly compatible with the notion that those rules might themselves change over time in light of developments in the law governing foreign sovereign immunity. The *Atkinson* court also did not consider the opinion of the State Department, whose views in this area ordinarily receive "special attention," *Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela* v. *Helmerich & Payne Int'l Drilling Co.*, 581 U. S. ___, ___, and which took the position that immunity rules of the IOIA and the FSIA were linked following the FSIA's enactment. Pp. 11–13.

(d) The IFC contends that interpreting the IOIA immunity provision to grant only restrictive immunity would defeat the purpose of granting immunity in the first place, by subjecting international organizations to suit under the commercial activity exception of the FSIA for most or all of their core activities. This would be particularly true with respect to international development banks, which use the tools of commerce to achieve their objectives. Those concerns are inflated. The IOIA provides only default rules. An international organization's charter can always specify a different level of immunity, and many do. Nor is it clear that the lending activity of all development banks qualifies as commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA. But even if it does qualify as commercial, that does not mean the organization is automatically subject to suit, since other FSIA requirements must also be met, see, *e.g.*, 28 U. S. C. §§1603, 1605(a)(2). Pp. 13–15.

860 F. 3d 703, reversed and remanded.

ROBERTS, C. J., delivered the opinion of the Court, in which THOMAS, GINSBURG, ALITO, SOTOMAYOR, KAGAN, and GORSUCH, JJ., joined. BREYER, J., filed a dissenting opinion. KAVANAUGH, J., took no part in the consideration or decision of the case.

NOTICE: This opinion is subject to formal revision before publication in the preliminary print of the United States Reports. Readers are requested to notify the Reporter of Decisions, Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 20543, of any typographical or other formal errors, in order that corrections may be made before the preliminary print goes to press.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 17–1011

BUDHA ISMAIL JAM, ET AL., PETITIONERS *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

[February 27, 2019]

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS delivered the opinion of the Court.

The International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 grants international organizations such as the World Bank and the World Health Organization the "same immunity from suit . . . as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). At the time the IOIA was enacted, foreign governments enjoyed virtually absolute immunity from suit. Today that immunity is more limited. Most significantly, foreign governments are not immune from actions based upon certain kinds of commercial activity in which they engage. This case requires us to determine whether the IOIA grants international organizations the virtually absolute immunity foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted, or the more limited immunity they enjoy today.

Respondent International Finance Corporation is an international organization headquartered in the United States. The IFC finances private-sector development projects in poor and developing countries around the world. About 10 years ago, the IFC financed the construction of a power plant in Gujarat, India. Petitioners are local farmers and fishermen and a small village. They allege that the power plant has polluted the air, land, and water in the surrounding area. Petitioners sued the IFC for damages and injunctive relief in Federal District Court, but the IFC claimed absolute immunity from suit. Petitioners argued that the IFC was entitled under the IOIA only to the limited or "restrictive" immunity that foreign governments currently enjoy. We agree.

I

A

In the wake of World War II, the United States and many of its allies joined together to establish a host of new international organizations. Those organizations, which included the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, were designed to allow member countries to collectively pursue goals such as stabilizing the international economy, rebuilding war-torn nations, and maintaining international peace and security.

Anticipating that those and other international organizations would locate their headquarters in the United States, Congress passed the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, 59 Stat. 669. The Act grants international organizations a set of privileges and immunities, such as immunity from search and exemption from property taxes. 22 U. S. C. §§288a(c), 288c.

The IOIA defines certain privileges and immunities by reference to comparable privileges and immunities enjoyed by foreign governments. For example, with respect to customs duties and the treatment of official communications, the Act grants international organizations the privileges and immunities that are "accorded under similar circumstances to foreign governments." §288a(d). The provision at issue in this case provides that international organizations "shall enjoy the same immunity from suit and every form of judicial process as is enjoyed by foreign governments." §288a(b).

The IOIA authorizes the President to withhold, withdraw, condition, or limit the privileges and immunities it grants in light of the functions performed by any given international organization. §288. Those privileges and immunities can also be expanded or restricted by a particular organization's founding charter.

B

When the IOIA was enacted in 1945, courts looked to the views of the Department of State in deciding whether a given foreign government should be granted immunity from a particular suit. If the Department submitted a recommendation on immunity, courts deferred to the recommendation. If the Department did not make a recommendation, courts decided for themselves whether to grant immunity, although they did so by reference to State Department policy. *Samantar* v. *Yousuf*, 560 U. S. 305, 311–312 (2010).

Until 1952, the State Department adhered to the classical theory of foreign sovereign immunity. According to that theory, foreign governments are entitled to "virtually absolute" immunity as a matter of international grace and comity. At the time the IOIA was enacted, therefore, the Department ordinarily requested, and courts ordinarily granted, immunity in suits against foreign governments. *Ibid.*; *Verlinden B. V.* v. *Central Bank of Nigeria*, 461 U. S. 480, 486 (1983).[1]

In 1952, however, the State Department announced that it would adopt the newer "restrictive" theory of foreign sovereign immunity. Under that theory, foreign governments are entitled to immunity only with respect to their sovereign acts, not with respect to commercial acts. The State Department explained that it was adopting the restrictive theory because the "widespread and increasing practice on the part of governments of engaging in commercial activities" made it "necessary" to "enable persons doing business with them to have their rights determined in the courts." Letter from Jack B. Tate, Acting Legal Adviser, Dept. of State, to Acting Attorney General Philip B. Perlman (May 19, 1952), reprinted in 26 Dept. State Bull. 984–985 (1952).

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[1] The immunity was "virtually" absolute because it was subject to occasional exceptions for specific situations. In *Republic of Mexico* v. *Hoffman*, 324 U. S. 30 (1945), for example, the State Department declined to recommend, and the Court did not grant, immunity from suit with respect to a ship that Mexico owned but did not possess.

In 1976, Congress passed the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The FSIA codified the restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity but transferred "primary responsibility for immunity determinations from the Executive to the Judicial Branch." *Republic of Austria* v. *Altmann*, 541 U. S. 677, 691 (2004); see 28 U. S. C. §1602. Under the FSIA, foreign governments are presumptively immune from suit. §1604. But a foreign government may be subject to suit under one of several statutory exceptions. Most pertinent here, a foreign government may be subject to suit in connection with its commercial activity that has a sufficient nexus with the United States. §1605(a)(2).

C

The International Finance Corporation is an international development bank headquartered in Washington, D. C. The IFC is designated as an international organization under the IOIA. Exec. Order No. 10680, 3 CFR 86 (1957); see 22 U. S. C. §§282, 288. One hundred eighty-four countries, including the United States, are members of the IFC.

The IFC is charged with furthering economic development "by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member countries, particularly in the less developed areas, thus supplementing the activities of" the World Bank. Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation, Art. I, Dec. 5, 1955, 7 U. S. T. 2193, T. I. A. S. No. 3620. Whereas the World Bank primarily provides loans and grants to developing countries for public-sector projects, the IFC finances private-sector development projects that cannot otherwise attract capital on reasonable terms. See Art. I(i), *ibid.* In 2018, the IFC provided some $23 billion in such financing.

The IFC expects its loan recipients to adhere to a set of performance standards designed to "avoid, mitigate, and manage risks and impacts" associated with development projects. IFC Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability, Jan. 1, 2012, p. 2, ¶1. Those standards are usually more stringent than any established by local law. The IFC includes the standards in its loan agreements and enforces them through an internal review process. Brief for Respondent 10.

In 2008, the IFC loaned $450 million to Coastal Gujarat Power Limited, a company located in India. The loan helped finance the construction of a coal-fired power plant in the state of Gujarat. Under the terms of the loan agreement, Coastal Gujarat was required to comply with an environmental and social action plan designed to protect areas around the plant from damage. The agreement allowed the IFC to revoke financial support for the project if Coastal Gujarat failed to abide by the terms of the agreement.

The project did not go smoothly. According to the IFC's internal audit, Coastal Gujarat did not comply with the environmental and social action plan in constructing and operating the plant. The audit report criticized the IFC for inadequately supervising the project.

In 2015, a group of farmers and fishermen who live near the plant, as well as a local village, sued the IFC in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

They claimed that pollution from the plant, such as coal dust, ash, and water from the plant's cooling system, had destroyed or contaminated much of the surrounding air, land, and water. Relying on the audit report, they asserted several causes of action against the IFC, including negligence, nuisance, trespass, and breach of contract. The IFC maintained that it was immune from suit under the IOIA and moved to dismiss for lack of subject matter jurisdiction.

The District Court, applying D. C. Circuit precedent, concluded that the IFC was immune from suit because the IOIA grants international organizations the virtually absolute immunity that foreign governments enjoyed when the IOIA was enacted. 172 F. Supp. 3d 104, 108–109 (DC 2016) (citing *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335 (CADC 1998)). The D. C. Circuit affirmed in light of its precedent. 860 F. 3d 703 (2017). Judge Pillard wrote separately to say that she would have decided the question differently were she writing on a clean slate. *Id.*, at 708 (concurring opinion). Judge Pillard explained that she thought the D. C. Circuit "took a wrong turn" when it "read the IOIA to grant international organizations a static, absolute immunity that is, by now, not at all the same 'as is enjoyed by foreign governments,' but substantially broader." *Ibid.* Judge Pillard also noted that the Third Circuit had expressly declined to follow the D. C. Circuit's approach. See *OSS Nokalva, Inc.* v. *European Space Agency*, 617 F. 3d 756 (CA3 2010).

We granted certiorari. 584 U. S. ___ (2018).

II

The IFC contends that the IOIA grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit that foreign governments enjoyed in 1945. Petitioners argue that it instead grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit that foreign governments enjoy today. We think petitioners have the better reading of the statute.

A

The language of the IOIA more naturally lends itself to petitioners' reading. In granting international organizations the "same immunity" from suit "as is enjoyed by foreign governments," the Act seems to continuously link the immunity of international organizations to that of foreign governments, so as to ensure ongoing parity between the two. The statute could otherwise have simply stated that international organizations "shall enjoy absolute immunity from suit," or specified some other fixed level of immunity. Other provisions of the IOIA, such as the one making the property and assets of international organizations "immune from search," use such noncomparative language to define immunities in a static way. 22 U. S. C. §288a(c). Or the statute could have specified that it was incorporating the law of foreign sovereign immunity as it existed on a particular date. See, *e.g.*, Energy Policy Act of 1992, 30 U. S. C. §242(c)(1) (certain land patents "shall provide for surface use to the same extent as is provided under applicable law prior to October 24, 1992"). Because the IOIA does neither of those things, we think the "same as" formulation is best understood to make international organization immunity and foreign sovereign immunity continuously equivalent.

That reading finds support in other statutes that use similar or identical language to place two groups on equal footing. In the Civil Rights Act of 1866, for instance, Congress established a rule of equal treatment for newly freed slaves by giving them the "same right" to make and enforce contracts and to buy and sell property "as is enjoyed by white citizens." 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982. That provision is of course understood to guarantee continuous equality between white and nonwhite citizens with respect to the rights in question. See *Jones* v. *Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U. S. 409, 427–430 (1968). Similarly, the Federal Tort Claims Act states that the "United States shall be liable" in tort "in the same manner and to the same extent as a private individual under like circumstances." 28 U. S. C. §2674. That provision is most naturally understood to make the United States liable in the same way as a private individual at any given time. See *Richards* v. *United States*, 369 U. S. 1, 6–7 (1962). Such "same as" provisions dot the statute books, and federal and state courts commonly read them to mandate ongoing equal treatment of two groups or objects. See, *e.g.*, *Adamson* v. *Bowen*, 855 F. 2d 668, 671–672 (CA10 1988) (statute making United States liable for fees and expenses "to the same extent that any other party would be liable under the common law or under the terms of any statute" interpreted to continuously tie liability of United States to that of any other party); *Kugler's Appeal*, 55 Pa. 123, 124–125 (1867) (statute making the procedure for dividing election districts "the same as" the procedure for dividing townships interpreted to continuously tie the former procedure to the latter).

The IFC objects that the IOIA is different because the purpose of international organization immunity is entirely distinct from the purpose of foreign sovereign immunity. Foreign sovereign immunity, the IFC argues, is grounded in the mutual respect of sovereigns and serves the ends of international comity and reciprocity. The purpose of international organization immunity, on the other hand, is to allow such organizations to freely pursue the collective goals of member countries without undue interference from the courts of any one member country. The IFC therefore urges that the IOIA should not be read to tether international organization immunity to changing foreign sovereign immunity.

But that gets the inquiry backward. We ordinarily assume, "absent a clearly expressed legislative intention to the contrary," that "the legislative purpose is expressed by the ordinary meaning of the words used." *American Tobacco Co.* v. *Patterson*, 456 U. S. 63, 68 (1982) (alterations omitted). Whatever the ultimate purpose of international organization immunity may be—the IOIA does not address that question—the immediate purpose of the immunity provision is expressed in language that Congress typically uses to make one thing continuously equivalent to another.

B

The more natural reading of the IOIA is confirmed by a canon of statutory interpretation that was well established when the IOIA was drafted. According to the "reference" canon, when a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists whenever a question under the statute arises. 2 J. Sutherland, Statutory Construction §§5207–5208 (3d ed. 1943). For example, a statute allowing a company to "collect the same tolls and enjoy the same privileges" as other companies incorporates the law governing tolls and privileges as it exists at any given moment. *Snell* v. *Chicago*, 133 Ill. 413, 437–439, 24 N. E. 532, 537 (1890). In contrast, a statute that refers to another statute by specific title or section number in effect cuts and pastes the referenced statute as it existed when the referring statute was enacted, without any subsequent amendments. See, *e.g.*, *Culver* v. *People ex rel. Kochersperger*, 161 Ill. 89, 95–99, 43 N. E. 812, 814–815 (1896) (tax-assessment statute referring to specific article of another statute does not adopt subsequent amendments to that article).

Federal courts have often relied on the reference canon, explicitly or implicitly, to harmonize a statute with an external body of law that the statute refers to generally. Thus, for instance, a statute that exempts from disclosure agency documents that "would not be *available by law* to a party . . . in litigation with the agency" incorporates the general law governing attorney work-product privilege as it exists when the statute is applied. *FTC* v. *Grolier Inc.*, 462 U. S. 19, 20, 26–27 (1983) (emphasis added); *id.*, at 34, n. 6 (Brennan, J., concurring in part and concurring in judgment). Likewise, a general reference to federal discovery rules incorporates those rules "as they are found on any given day, today included," *El Encanto, Inc.* v. *Hatch Chile Co.*, 825 F. 3d 1161, 1164 (CA10 2016), and a general reference to "the crime of piracy as defined by the law of nations" incorporates a definition of piracy "that changes with advancements in the law of nations," *United States* v. *Dire*, 680 F. 3d 446, 451, 467–469 (CA4 2012).

The same logic applies here. The IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is a general rather than specific reference. The reference is to an external body of potentially evolving law—the law of foreign sovereign immunity—not to a specific provision of another statute. The IOIA should therefore be understood to link the law of international organization immunity to the law of foreign sovereign immunity, so that the one develops in tandem with the other.

The IFC contends that the IOIA's reference to the immunity enjoyed by foreign governments is not a general reference to an external body of law, but is instead a specific reference to a common law concept that had a fixed meaning when the IOIA was enacted in 1945. And because we ordinarily presume that "Congress intends to incorporate the well-settled meaning of the common-law terms it uses," *Neder* v. *United States*, 527 U. S. 1, 23 (1999), the IFC argues that we should read the IOIA to incorporate what the IFC maintains was the then-settled meaning of the "immunity enjoyed by foreign governments": virtually absolute immunity.

But in 1945, the "immunity enjoyed by foreign governments" did not *mean* "virtually absolute immunity." The phrase is not a term of art with substantive content, such as "fraud" or "forgery." See *id.*, at 22; *Gilbert* v. *United States*, 370 U. S. 650, 655 (1962). It is rather a concept that can be given scope and content only by reference to the rules governing foreign sovereign immunity. It is true that under the rules applicable in 1945, the *extent* of immunity from suit was virtually absolute, while under the rules applicable today, it is more limited. But in 1945, as today, the IOIA's instruction to grant international organizations the immunity "enjoyed by foreign governments" is an instruction to look up the applicable rules of foreign sovereign immunity, wherever those rules may be found—the common law, the law of nations, or a statute. In other words, it is a general reference to an external body of (potentially evolving) law.

C

In ruling for the IFC, the D. C. Circuit relied upon its prior decision in *Atkinson*, 156 F. 3d 1335. *Atkinson* acknowledged the reference canon, but concluded that the canon's probative force was "outweighed" by a structural inference the court derived from the larger context of the IOIA. *Id.*, at 1341. The *Atkinson* court focused on the provision of the IOIA that gives the President the authority to withhold, withdraw, condition, or limit the otherwise applicable privileges and immunities of an international organization, "in the light of the functions performed by any such international organization." 22 U. S. C. §288. The court understood that provision to "delegate to the President the responsibility for updating the immunities of international organizations in the face of changing circumstances." *Atkinson*, 156 F. 3d, at 1341. That delegation, the court reasoned, "undermine[d]" the view that Congress intended the IOIA to in effect update itself by incorporating changes in the law governing foreign sovereign immunity. *Ibid.*

We do not agree. The delegation provision is most naturally read to allow the President to modify, on a case-by-case basis, the immunity rules that would otherwise apply to a particular international organization. The statute authorizes the President to take action with respect to a single organization—"any such organization"—in light of the functions performed by "such organization." 28 U. S. C. §288. The text suggests retail rather than wholesale action, and that is in fact how authority under §288 has been exercised in the past. See, *e.g.*, Exec. Order No. 12425, 3 CFR 193 (1984) (designating INTERPOL as an international organization under the IOIA but withholding certain privileges and immunities); Exec. Order No. 11718, 3 CFR 177 (1974) (same for INTELSAT). In any event, the fact that the President has power to modify otherwise applicable immunity rules is perfectly compatible with the notion that those rules might themselves change over time in light of developments in the law governing foreign sovereign immunity.

The D. C. Circuit in *Atkinson* also gave no consideration to the opinion of the State Department, whose views in this area ordinarily receive "special attention." *Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela* v. *Helmerich & Payne Int'l. Drilling Co.*, 581 U. S. ___, ___ (2017) (slip op., at 9). Shortly after the FSIA was enacted, the State Department took the position that the immunity rules of the IOIA and the FSIA were now "link[ed]." Letter from Detlev F. Vagts, Office of the Legal Adviser, to Robert M. Carswell, Jr., Senior Legal Advisor, OAS, p. 2 (Mar. 24, 1977). The Department reaffirmed that view during subsequent administrations, and it has reaffirmed it again here.[2] That longstanding view further bolsters our understanding of the IOIA's immunity provision.

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[2] See Letter from Roberts B. Owen, Legal Adviser, to Leroy D. Clark, Gen. Counsel, EEOC (June 24, 1980) in Nash, Contemporary Practice of the United States Relating to International Law, 74 Am. J. Int'l. L. 917,

D

The IFC argues that interpreting the IOIA's immunity provision to grant anything less than absolute immunity would lead to a number of undesirable results.

The IFC first contends that affording international organizations only restrictive immunity would defeat the purpose of granting them immunity in the first place. Allowing international organizations to be sued in one member country's courts would in effect allow that member to second-guess the collective decisions of the others. It would also expose international organizations to money damages, which would in turn make it more difficult and expensive for them to fulfill their missions. The IFC argues that this problem is especially acute for international development banks. Because those banks use the tools of commerce to achieve their objectives, they may be subject to suit under the FSIA's commercial activity exception for most or all of their core activities, unlike foreign sovereigns. According to the IFC, allowing such suits would bring a flood of foreign-plaintiff litigation into U. S. courts, raising many of the same foreign-relations con-

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918 (1980) ("By virtue of the FSIA, and unless otherwise specified in their constitutive agreements, international organizations are now subject to the jurisdiction of our courts in respect of their commercial activities, while retaining immunity for their acts of a public character."); Letter from Arnold Kanter, Acting Secretary of State, to President George H. W. Bush (Sept. 12, 1992) in Digest of United States Practice in International Law 1016–1017 (S. Cummins & D. Stewart eds. 2005) (explaining that the Headquarters Agreement of the Organization of American States affords the OAS "full immunity from judicial process, thus going beyond the usual United States practice of affording restrictive immunity," in exchange for assurances that OAS would provide for "appropriate modes of settlement of those disputes for which jurisdiction would exist against a foreign government under the" FSIA); Brief for United States as *Amicus Curiae* 24–29.

cerns that we identified when considering similar litigation under the Alien Tort Statute. See *Jesner* v. *Arab Bank, PLC*, 584 U. S. ___, ___–___ (2018); *Kiobel* v. *Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.*, 569 U. S. 108, 116–117 (2013).

The IFC's concerns are inflated. To begin, the privileges and immunities accorded by the IOIA are only default rules. If the work of a given international organization would be impaired by restrictive immunity, the organization's charter can always specify a different level of immunity. The charters of many international organizations do just that. See, *e.g.*, Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. II, §2, Feb. 13, 1946, 21 U. S. T. 1422, T. I. A. S. No. 6900 ("The United Nations . . . shall enjoy immunity from every form of legal process except insofar as in any particular case it has expressly waived its immunity"); Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund, Art. IX, §3, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1413, T. I. A. S. No. 1501 (IMF enjoys "immunity from every form of judicial process except to the extent that it expressly waives its immunity"). Notably, the IFC's own charter does not state that the IFC is absolutely immune from suit.

Nor is there good reason to think that restrictive immunity would expose international development banks to excessive liability. As an initial matter, it is not clear that the lending activity of all development banks qualifies as commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA. To be considered "commercial," an activity must be "the *type*" of activity "by which a private party engages in" trade or commerce. *Republic of Argentina* v. *Weltover, Inc.*, 504 U. S. 607, 614 (1992); see 28 U. S. C. §1603(d). As the Government suggested at oral argument, the lending activity of at least some development banks, such as those that make conditional loans to governments, may not qualify as "commercial" under the FSIA. See Tr. of Oral Arg. 27–30.

And even if an international development bank's lending activity does qualify as commercial, that does not mean the organization is automatically subject to suit. The FSIA includes other requirements that must also be met. For one thing, the commercial activity must have a sufficient nexus to the United States. See 28 U. S. C. §§1603, 1605(a)(2). For another, a lawsuit must be "based upon" either the commercial activity itself or acts performed in connection with the commercial activity. See §1605(a)(2). Thus, if the "gravamen" of a lawsuit is tortious activity abroad, the suit is not "based upon" commercial activity within the meaning of the FSIA's commercial activity exception. See *OBB Personenverkehr AG* v. *Sachs*, 577 U. S. ___, ___–___ (2015); *Saudi Arabia* v. *Nelson*, 507 U. S. 349, 356–359 (1993). At oral argument in this case, the Government stated that it has "serious doubts" whether petitioners' suit, which largely concerns allegedly tortious conduct in India, would satisfy the "based upon" requirement. Tr. of Oral Arg. 25–26. In short, restrictive immunity hardly means unlimited exposure to suit for international organizations.

* * *

The International Organizations Immunities Act grants international organizations the "same immunity" from suit "as is enjoyed by foreign governments" at any given time. Today, that means that the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act governs the immunity of international organizations. The International Finance Corporation is therefore not absolutely immune from suit.

The judgment of the United States Court of Appeals for the D. C. Circuit is reversed, and the case is remanded for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

It is so ordered.

JUSTICE KAVANAUGH took no part in the consideration or decision of this case.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 17–1011

BUDHA ISMAIL JAM, ET AL., PETITIONERS *v.* INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

[February 27, 2019]

JUSTICE BREYER, dissenting.

The International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945 extends to international organizations "the same immunity from suit and every form of judicial process as is enjoyed by foreign governments." 22 U. S. C. §288a(b). The majority, resting primarily upon the statute's language and canons of interpretation, holds that the statute's reference to "immunity" moves with the times. As a consequence, the statute no longer allows international organizations immunity from lawsuits arising from their commercial activities. In my view, the statute grants international organizations that immunity—just as foreign governments possessed that immunity when Congress enacted the statute in 1945. In reaching this conclusion, I rest more heavily than does the majority upon the statute's history, its context, its purposes, and its consequences. And I write in part to show that, in difficult cases like this one, purpose-based methods of interpretation can often shine a useful light upon opaque statutory language, leading to a result that reflects greater legal coherence and is, as a practical matter, more sound.

I

The general question before us is familiar: Do the words of a statute refer to their subject matter "statically," as it was when the statute was written? Or is their reference to that subject matter "dynamic," changing in scope as the subject matter changes over time? It is hardly surprising, given the thousands of different statutes containing an untold number of different words, that there is no single, universally applicable answer to this question.

Fairly recent cases from this Court make that clear. Compare *New Prime Inc.* v. *Oliveira*, 586 U. S. ___, ___ (2019) (slip op., at 7) (adopting the interpretation of "'contracts of employment'" that prevailed at the time of the statute's adoption in 1925); *Wisconsin Central Ltd.* v. *United States*, 585 U. S. ___, ___ (2018) (slip op., at 2) (adopting the meaning of "'money'" that prevailed at the time of the statute's enactment in 1937); *Carcieri* v. *Salazar*, 555 U. S. 379, 388 (2009) (interpreting the statutory phrase "'now under Federal jurisdiction'" to cover only those tribes that were under federal jurisdiction at the time of the statute's adoption in 1934); and *Republic of Argentina* v. *Weltover, Inc.*, 504 U. S. 607, 612–613 (1992) (adopting the meaning of "'commercial'" that was "attached to that term under the restrictive theory" when the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act was enacted in 1976), with *Kimble* v. *Marvel Entertainment, LLC*, 576 U. S. ___, ___ (2015) (slip op., at 14) (noting that the words "'restraint of trade'" in the Sherman Act have been interpreted dynamically); *West* v. *Gibson*, 527 U. S. 212, 218 (1999) (interpreting the term "'appropriate'" in Title VII's remedies provision dynamically); and *Allied-Bruce Terminix Cos.* v. *Dobson*, 513 U. S. 265, 275–276 (1995) (interpreting the term "'involving commerce'" in the Federal Arbitration Act dynamically).

The Court, like petitioners, believes that the language of the statute itself helps significantly to answer the static/dynamic question. See *ante*, at 7–9. I doubt that the language itself helps in this case. Petitioners point to the words "as is" in the phrase that grants the international organizations the "same immunity from suit . . . *as is* enjoyed by foreign governments." Brief for Petitioners 23–24. They invoke the Dictionary Act, which states that "words used in the present tense include the future" "unless the context indicates otherwise." 1 U. S. C. §1. But that provision creates only a presumption. And it did not even appear in the statute until 1948, *after* Congress had passed the Immunities Act. Compare §1, 61 Stat. 633, with §6, 62 Stat. 859.

More fundamentally, the words "as is enjoyed" do not conclusively tell us *when* enjoyed. Do they mean "as is enjoyed" at the time of the statute's enactment? Or "as is enjoyed" at the time a plaintiff brings a lawsuit? If the former, international organizations enjoy immunity from lawsuits based upon their commercial activities, for that was the scope of immunity that foreign governments enjoyed in 1945 when the Immunities Act became law. If the latter, international organizations do not enjoy that immunity, for foreign governments can no longer claim immunity from lawsuits based upon certain commercial activities. See 28 U. S. C. §1605(a)(2).

Linguistics does not answer the temporal question. Nor do our cases, which are not perfectly consistent on the matter. Compare *McNeill* v. *United States*, 563 U. S. 816, 821 (2011) (present-tense verb in the Armed Career Criminal Act requires applying the law at the time of previous conviction, not the later time when the Act is applied), with *Dole Food Co.* v. *Patrickson*, 538 U. S. 468, 478 (2003) (present-tense verb requires applying the law "at the time suit is filed"). The problem is simple: "Without knowing the point in time at which the law speaks, it is impossible to tell what is past and what is present or future." *Carr* v. *United States*, 560 U. S. 438, 463 (2010) (ALITO, J., dissenting). It is *purpose*, not linguistics, that can help us here.

The words "same . . . as," in the phrase "same immunity

. . . as," provide no greater help. The majority finds support for its dynamic interpretation in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gives all citizens the "*same* right" to make and enforce contracts and to buy and sell property "*as* is enjoyed by white citizens." 42 U. S. C. §§1981(a), 1982 (emphasis added). But it is *purpose*, not words, that readily resolves any temporal linguistic ambiguity in that statute. The Act's objective, like that of the Fourteenth Amendment itself, was a Nation that treated its citizens equally. Its purpose—revealed by its title, historical context, and other language in the statute—was "to guarantee the then newly freed slaves the same legal rights that other citizens enjoy." *CBOCS West, Inc.* v. *Humphries*, 553 U. S. 442, 448 (2008). Given this purpose, its dynamic nature is obvious.

Similarly, judges interpreting the words "same . . . as" have long resolved ambiguity not by looking at the words alone, but by examining the statute's purpose as well. Compare, *e.g.*, *Kugler's Appeal*, 55 Pa. 123, 123–125 (1867) (adopting a dynamic interpretation of "same as" statute in light of "plain" and "manifest" statutory purpose); and *Gaston* v. *Lamkin*, 115 Mo. 20, 34, 21 S. W. 1100, 1104 (1893) (adopting a dynamic interpretation of "same as" election statute given the legislature's intent to achieve "simplicity and uniformity in the conduct of elections"), with *O'Flynn* v. *East Rochester*, 292 N. Y. 156, 162, 54 N. E. 2d 343, 346 (1944) (adopting a static interpretation of "same as" statute given that the legislature "did not contemplate" that subsequent changes to a referenced statute would apply (interpreting N. Y. Gen. Mun. Law Ann. §360(5) (West 1934))). There is no hard-and-fast rule that the statutory words "as is" or the statutory words "same as" require applying the law as it stands today.

The majority wrongly believes that it can solve the temporal problem by bringing statutory canons into play. It relies on what it calls the "reference canon." That canon, as it appeared more than 75 years ago in Sutherland's book on statutory construction, says that "when a statute refers to a general subject, the statute adopts the law on that subject as it exists *whenever a question under the statute arises.*" *Ante*, at 9 (citing 2 J. Sutherland, Statutory Construction §§5207–5208 (3d ed. 1943); emphasis added).

But a canon is at most a rule of thumb. Indeed, Sutherland himself says that "[n]o single canon of interpretation can purport to give a certain and unerring answer." 2 Sutherland, *supra*, §4501, p. 316. And hornbooks, summarizing case law, have long explained that whether a reference statute adopts the law as it stands on the date of enactment or includes subsequent changes in the law to which it refers is "fundamentally a question of legislative intent and purpose." Fox, Effect of Modification or Repeal of Constitutional or Statutory Provision Adopted by Reference in Another Provision, 168 A. L. R. 627, 628 (1947); see also 82 C. J. S., Statutes §485, p. 637 (2009) ("The question of whether a statute which has adopted another statute by reference will be affected by amendments made to the adopted statute is one of legislative intent and purpose"); *id.*, at 638 (statute that refers generally to another body of law will ordinarily include subsequent changes in the adopted law only "as far as the changes are consistent with the purpose of the adopting statute").

Thus, all interpretive roads here lead us to the same place, namely, to context, to history, to purpose, and to consequences. Language alone cannot resolve the statute's linguistic ambiguity.

II

"Statutory interpretation," however, "is not a game of blind man's bluff." *Dole Food Co.*, 538 U. S., at 484 (BREYER, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part). We are "free to consider statutory language in light of a statute's basic purposes," *ibid.*, as well as "'the history of the times when it was passed,'" *Leo Sheep Co.* v. *United States*, 440 U. S. 668, 669 (1979) (quoting *United States* v. *Union Pacific R. Co.*, 91 U. S. 72, 79 (1875)). In this case, historical context, purpose, and related consequences tell us a great deal about the proper interpretation of the Immunities Act.

Congressional reports explain that Congress, acting in the immediate aftermath of World War II, intended the Immunities Act to serve two related purposes. First, it would "enabl[e] this country to fulfill its commitments in connection with its membership in international organizations." S. Rep. No. 861, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., 3 (1945); see also *id.*, at 2–3 (explaining that the Immunities Act was "basic legislation" expected to "satisfy in full the requirements of . . . international organizations conducting activities in the United States"); H. R. Rep. No. 1203, 79th Cong., 1st Sess., 3 (1945) (similar). And second, it would "facilitate fully the functioning of international organizations in this country." S. Rep. No. 861, at 3.

A

I first examine the international commitments that Congress sought to fulfill. By 1945, the United States had entered into agreements creating several important multilateral organizations, including the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). See *id.*, at 2.

The founding agreements for several of these organizations required member states to grant them broad immunity from suit. The Bretton Woods Agreements, for example, provided that the IMF "shall enjoy immunity from every form of judicial process except to the extent that it expressly waives its immunity." Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund, Art. IX, §3, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1413, T. I. A. S. No. 1501. UNRRA required members, absent waiver, to accord the organization "the facilities, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which they accord to each other, including . . . [i]mmunity from suit and legal process." 2 UNRRA, A Compilation of the Resolutions on Policy: First and Second Sessions of the UNRRA Council, Res. No. 32, p. 51 (1944). And the UN Charter required member states to accord the UN "such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfillment of its purposes." Charter of the United Nations, Art. 105, 59 Stat. 1053, June 26, 1945, T. S. No. 993.

These international organizations expected the United States to provide them with essentially full immunity. And at the time the treaties were written, Congress understood that foreign governments normally enjoyed immunity with respect to their commercial, as well as their noncommercial, activities. Thus, by granting international organizations "the same immunity from suit" that foreign governments enjoyed, Congress expected that international organizations would similarly have immunity in both commercial and noncommercial suits.

More than that, Congress likely recognized that immunity in the commercial area was even more important for many international organizations than it was for most foreign governments. Unlike foreign governments, international organizations are *not* sovereign entities engaged in a host of different activities. See R. Higgins, Problems & Process: International Law and How We Use It 93 (1994) (organizations do not act with "'sovereign authority,'" and "to assimilate them to states . . . is not correct"). Rather, many organizations (including four of the five I mentioned above) have specific missions that often require them to engage in what U. S. law may well consider to be commercial activities. See *infra*, at 12.

Nonetheless, under the majority's view, the immunity of many organizations contracted in scope in 1952, when the State Department modified foreign government immunity to exclude commercial activities. Most organizations could not rely on the treaty provisions quoted above to supply the necessary immunity. That is because, unless the treaty provision granting immunity is "self-executing," *i.e.*, automatically applicable, the immunity will not be effective in U. S. courts until Congress enacts additional legislation to implement it. See *Medellin* v. *Texas*, 552 U. S. 491, 504–505 (2008); but see *id.*, at 546–547 (BREYER, J., dissenting). And many treaties are not self-executing. Thus, in the ordinary case, not even a treaty can guarantee immunity in cases arising from commercial activities.

The UN provides a good example. As noted, the UN Charter required the United States to grant the UN all "necessary" immunities, but it was not self-executing. In 1946, the UN made clear that it needed absolute immunity from suit, including in lawsuits based upon its commercial activities. See Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. II, §2, Feb. 13, 1946, 21 U. S. T. 1422, T. I. A. S. No. 6900 (entered into force Apr. 29, 1970); see also App. to S. Exec. Rep. No. 91–17, p. 14 (1970) ("The U. N.'s immunity from legal process extends to matters arising out its commercial dealings . . . "). But, until Congress ratified that comprehensive immunity provision in 1970, no U. S. law provided that immunity *but for* the Immunities Act. *Id.*, at 1. Both the UN and the United States found this circumstance satisfactory because they apparently assumed the Immunities Act extended immunity in cases involving both commercial and noncommercial activities: When Congress eventually (in 1970) ratified the UN's comprehensive immunity provision, the Senate reported that the long delay in ratification "appears to have been the result of the executive branch being content to operate under the provisions of the" Immunities Act. *Id.*, at 2.

In light of this history, how likely is it that Congress, seeking to "satisfy *in full* the requirements of . . . international organizations conducting activities in the United States," S. Rep. No. 861, at 2–3 (emphasis added), would have understood the statute to take from many international organizations with one hand the immunity it had given them with the other? If Congress wished the Act to carry out one of its core purposes—fulfilling the country's international commitments—Congress would not have wanted the statute to change over time, taking on a meaning that would fail to grant not only full, but even partial, immunity to many of those organizations.

B

Congress also intended to facilitate international organizations' ability to pursue their missions in the United States. To illustrate why that purpose is better served by a static interpretation, consider in greater detail the work of the organizations to which Congress wished to provide broad immunity. Put the IMF to the side, for Congress enacted a separate statute providing it with immunity (absent waiver) in all cases. See 22 U. S. C. §286h. But UNRRA, the World Bank, the FAO, and the UN itself all originally depended upon the Immunities Act for the immunity they sought.

Consider, for example, the mission of UNRRA. The United States and other nations created that organization in 1943, as the end of World War II seemed in sight. Its objective was, in the words of President Roosevelt, to "'assure a fair distribution of available supplies among'" those liberated in World War II, and "'to ward off death by starvation or exposure among these peoples.'" 1 G. Woodbridge, UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration 3 (1950). By the time Congress passed the Immunities Act in 1945, UNRRA had obtained and shipped billions of pounds of food, clothing, and other relief supplies to children freed from Nazi concentration camps and to others in serious need. 3 *id.*, at 429; see generally L. Nicholas, Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web 442–513 (2005).

These activities involved contracts, often made in the United States, for transportation and for numerous commercial goods. See B. Shephard, The Long Road Home: The Aftermath of the Second World War 54, 57–58 (2012). Indeed, the United States conditioned its participation on UNRRA's spending what amounted to 67% of its budget on purchases of goods and services in the United States. *Id.*, at 57–58; see also Sawyer, Achievements of UNRRA as an International Health Organization, 37 Am. J. Pub. Health 41, 57 (1947) (describing UNRRA training programs for foreign doctors within the United States, which presumably required entering into contracts); *International Refugee Org.* v. *Republic S. S. Corp.*, 189 F. 2d 858, 860 (CA4 1951) (describing successor organization's transportation of displaced persons, presumably also under contract). Would Congress, believing that it had provided the absolute immunity that UNRRA sought and expected, also have intended that the statute be interpreted "dynamically," thereby removing most of the immunity that it had then provided—not only potentially from UNRRA itself but also from other future international organizations with UNRRA-like objectives and tasks?

C

This history makes clear that Congress enacted the Immunities Act as part of an effort to encourage international organizations to locate their headquarters and carry on their missions in the United States. It also makes clear that Congress intended to enact "basic legislation" that would fulfill its broad immunity-based commitments to the UN, UNRRA, and other nascent organizations. S. Rep. No. 861, at 2. And those commitments, of necessity, included immunity from suit in commercial areas, since organizations were buying goods and making contracts in the United States.

To achieve these purposes, Congress enacted legislation that granted necessarily broad immunity. And that fact strongly suggests that Congress would not have wanted the statute to reduce significantly the scope of immunity that international organizations enjoyed, particularly organizations engaged in development finance, refugee assistance, or other tasks that U. S. law could well decide were "commercial" in nature. See *infra*, at 12.

To that extent, an examination of the statute's purpose supports a static, not a dynamic, interpretation of its cross-reference to the immunity of foreign governments. Unlike the purpose of the Civil Rights Act, the purpose here was not to ensure parity of treatment for international organizations and foreign governments. Instead, as the Court of Appeals for the D. C. Circuit pointed out years ago, the statute's reference to the immunities of "foreign governments" was a "shorthand" for the immunities those foreign governments enjoyed at the time the Act was passed. *Atkinson* v. *Inter-American Development Bank*, 156 F. 3d 1335, 1340, 1341 (1998).

III

Now consider the consequences that the majority's reading of the statute will likely produce—consequences that run counter to the statute's basic purposes. Although the UN itself is no longer dependent upon the Immunities Act, many other organizations, such as the FAO and several multilateral development banks, continue to rely upon that Act to secure immunity, for the United States has never ratified treaties nor enacted statutes that might extend the necessary immunity, commercial and noncommercial alike.

A

The "commercial activity" exception to the sovereign immunity of foreign nations is broad. We have said that a foreign state engages in "commercial activity" when it exercises "'powers that can also be exercised by private citizens.'" *Republic of Argentina*, 504 U. S., at 614. Thus, "a contract to buy army boots or even bullets is a 'commercial' activity," even if the government enters into the contract to "fulfil[l] uniquely sovereign objectives." *Ibid.*; see also H. R. Rep. No. 94–1487, p. 16 (1976) ("[A] transaction to obtain goods or services from private parties would not lose its otherwise commercial character because it was entered into in connection with an [Agency for International Development] program").

As a result of the majority's interpretation, many of the international organizations to which the United States belongs will discover that they are now exposed to civil lawsuits based on their (U. S.-law-defined) commercial activity. And because "commercial activity" may well have a broad definition, today's holding will at the very least create uncertainty for organizations involved in finance, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency. The core functions of these organizations are at least arguably "commercial" in nature; the organizations exist to promote international development by investing in foreign companies and projects across the world. See Brief for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development et al. as *Amici Curiae* 1–4; Brief for Member Countries and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency as *Amici Curiae* 13–15. The World Bank, for example, encourages development either by guaranteeing private loans or by providing financing from its own funds if private capital is not available. See Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Art. I, Dec. 27, 1945, 60 Stat. 1440, T. I. A. S. No.

1502.

Some of these organizations, including the International Finance Corporation (IFC), themselves believe they do not need broad immunity in commercial areas, and they have waived it. See, *e.g.*, Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation, Art. 6, §3, Dec. 5, 1955, 7 U. S. T. 2214, 264 U. N. T. S. 118 (implemented by 22 U. S. C. §282g); see also 860 F. 3d 703, 706 (CADC 2017). But today's decision will affect them nonetheless. That is because courts have long interpreted their waivers in a manner that protects their core objectives. See, *e.g.*, *Mendaro* v. *World Bank*, 717 F. 2d 610, 614–615 (CADC 1983). (This very case provides a good example. The D. C. Circuit held below that the IFC's waiver provision does not cover petitioners' claims because they "threaten the [IFC's] policy discretion." See 860 F. 3d, at 708.) But today's decision exposes these organizations to potential liability in *all* cases arising from their commercial activities, without regard to the scope of their waivers.

Under the majority's interpretation, that broad exposure to liability is at least a reasonable possibility. And that being so, the interpretation undercuts Congress' original objectives and the expectations that it had when it enacted the Immunities Act in 1945.

B

The majority's opinion will have a further important consequence—one that more clearly contradicts the statute's objectives and overall scheme. It concerns the important goal of weeding out lawsuits that are likely bad or harmful—those likely to produce rules of law that interfere with an international organization's public interest tasks.

To understand its importance, consider again that international organizations, unlike foreign nations, are multilateral, with members from many different nations.

See H. R. Rep. No. 1203, at 1. That multilateralism is threatened if one nation alone, through application of its own liability rules (by nonexpert judges), can shape the policy choices or actions that an international organization believes it must take or refrain from taking. Yet that is the effect of the majority's interpretation. By restricting the immunity that international organizations enjoy, it "opens the door to divided decisions of the courts of different member states," including U. S. courts, "passing judgment on the rules, regulations, and decisions of the international bodies." *Broadbent* v. *Organization of Am. States*, 628 F. 2d 27, 35 (CADC 1980); cf. Singer, Jurisdictional Immunity of International Organizations: Human Rights and Functional Necessity Concerns, 36 Va. J. Int'l L. 53, 63–64 (1995) (recognizing that "[i]t would be inappropriate for municipal courts to cut deep into the region of autonomous decision-making authority of institutions such as the World Bank").

Many international organizations, fully aware of their moral (if not legal) obligations to prevent harm to others and to compensate individuals when they do cause harm, have sought to fulfill those obligations without compromising their ability to operate effectively. Some, as I have said, waive their immunity in U. S. courts at least in part. And the D. C. Circuit, for nearly 40 years, has interpreted those waivers in a way that protects the organization against interference by any single state. See, *e.g.*, *Mendaro*, 717 F. 2d, at 615. The D. C. Circuit allows a lawsuit to proceed when "insistence on immunity would actually prevent or hinder the organization from conducting its activities." *Id.*, at 617. Thus, a direct beneficiary of a World Bank loan can generally sue the Bank, because "the commercial reliability of the Bank's direct loans . . . would be significantly vitiated" if "beneficiaries were required to accept the Bank's obligations without recourse to judicial process." *Id.*, at 618. Where, however, allowing a suit would lead to "disruptive interference" with the organization's functions, the waiver does not apply. *Ibid.*

Other organizations have attempted to solve the liability/immunity problem by turning to multilateral, not single-nation, solutions. The UN, for instance, has agreed to "make provisions for appropriate modes of settlement of . . . [d]isputes arising out of contracts or other disputes of a private law character." Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Art. VIII, §29, 21 U. S. T. 1438, T. I. A. S. No. 6900. It generally does so by agreeing to submit commercial disputes to arbitration. See Restatement (Third) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States §467, Reporters' Note 7 (1987). Other organizations, including the IFC, have set up alternative accountability schemes to resolve disputes that might otherwise end up in court. See World Bank, Inspection Panel: About Us (describing World Bank's three-member "independent complaints mechanism" for those "who believe that they have been . . . adversely affected by a World Bank-funded project"), https://inspectionpanel.org/about-us/about-inspection-panel (as last visited Feb. 25, 2019); Compliance Advisor Ombudsman, How We Work: CAO Dispute Resolution (describing IFC and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency dispute-resolution process, the main objective of which is to help resolve issues raised about the "social and environmental impacts of IFC/MIGA projects"), www.cao-ombudsman.org/howwework/ombudsman.

These alternatives may sometimes prove inadequate. And, if so, the Immunities Act itself offers a way for America's Executive Branch to set aside an organization's immunity and to allow a lawsuit to proceed in U. S. courts. The Act grants to the President the authority to "withhold," to "withdraw," to "condition," or to "limit" any of the Act's "immunities" in "light of the functions performed by any such international organization." 22 U. S. C. §288.

Were we to interpret the statute statically, then, the default rule would be immunity in suits arising from an organization's commercial activities. But the Executive Branch would have the power to withdraw immunity where immunity is not warranted, as the Act itself provides. And in making that determination, it could consider whether allowing the lawsuit would jeopardize the organization's ability to carry out its public interest tasks. In a word, the Executive Branch, under a static interpretation, would have the authority needed to separate lawsuit sheep from lawsuit goats.

Under the majority's interpretation, by contrast, there is no such flexibility. The Executive does not have the power to tailor immunity by taking into account the risk of a lawsuit's unjustified interference with institutional objectives or other institutional needs. Rather, the majority's holding takes away an international organization's immunity (in cases arising from "commercial" activities) across the board. And without a new statute, there is no way to restore it, in whole or in part. Nothing in the present statute gives the Executive, the courts, or the organization the power to restore immunity, or to tailor any resulting potential liability, where a lawsuit threatens seriously to interfere with an organization's legitimate needs and goals.

Thus, the static interpretation comes equipped with flexibility. It comes equipped with a means to withdraw immunity where justified. But the dynamic interpretation freezes potential liability into law. It withdraws immunity automatically and irretrievably, irrespective of institutional harm. It seems highly unlikely that Congress would have wanted this result.

* * *

At the end of World War II, many in this Nation saw international cooperation through international organization as one way both to diminish the risk of conflict and to promote economic development and commercial prosperity. Congress at that time and at the request of many of those organizations enacted the Immunities Act. Given the differences between international organizations and nation states, along with the Act's purposes and the risk of untoward consequences, I would leave the Immunities Act where we found it—as providing for immunity in both commercial and noncommercial suits.

My decision rests primarily not upon linguistic analysis, but upon basic statutory purposes. Linguistic methods alone, however artfully employed, too often can be used to justify opposite conclusions. Purposes, derived from context, informed by history, and tested by recognition of related consequences, will more often lead us to legally sound, workable interpretations—as they have consistently done in the past. These methods of interpretation can help voters hold officials accountable for their decisions and permit citizens of our diverse democracy to live together productively and in peace—basic objectives in America of the rule of law itself.

With respect, I dissent.

From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/26/2019 9:24:09 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

As is often (but not always) the case you are correct....see if you can 'get the book' on him

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 3:20 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

go slow

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 9:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

He wants me to hire him....thinking about using him on the Softbank caper

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 3:05 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

as you may know i am very good friends with the sec gen council of europe , human rights court. . they know each other well

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 8:46 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Ever hear of a french/Israeli lawyer named ron soffer who has his main office in paris...(a yid who also works out of nyc)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:21 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

Ha

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 8:19 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Calm down....it was about 30 years ago, fleeting (and not that bad)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

sorry but i cant get the image of a naked lily sanchez out of my head.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:43 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> So knew what your answer was going to be
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** J
> **Sent:** Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:39 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re: Re:
>
> kathy would tacke me if i were to save you :)
>
> On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:30 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Just want to make sure if brad and reid were in a burning building and you could save only one............................
>>
>> **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
>> **Sent:** Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:21 PM
>> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
>> **Subject:** Re: Re:
>>
>> of course not. ! I've been called many things in the press recently -- retarded - is not one of them
>>
>> On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:14 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>>
>>> Very small fucking world....obviously don't mention my role with brad till we both think it useful
>>>
>>> **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
>>> **Sent:** Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:12 PM
>>> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
>>> **Subject:** Re: Re:
>>>
>>> brad represent softbank ,not rajeev , but did speak to him yesterday, re DB
>>>
>>> On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 6:32 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>>>
>>>> Cal me if you get a chance...[redacted]
>>>>
>>>> **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
>>>> **Sent:** Friday, January 25, 2019 7:23 PM
>>>> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
>>>> **Subject:** Re:

If he wants you to rep him. YES

On Fri, Jan 25, 2019 at 10:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Rajeev misra....softbank vision fund...any special jeffrey insights here?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:47 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Ok....but give me an idea what follows the but....otherwise I will imagine the worst....

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

i suggest we wait until face to face **Privileged - Redacted**

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:40 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu.... **Privileged - Redacted** **Privileged - Redacted** As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc......

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:57 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Not my new guy...not repping him

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

you seemed to imply that your new guy could only shoot blanks? if thats so. its an easy decision. , if not. oy

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:09 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Still have to figure out what my role is in all this shit...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:07 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Fun

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 3:05 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Crim

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Civil or crime

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 2:59 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Turns out you were right about sdny but they are "going to wait their turn"...

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 8:01 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

?

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:26 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

I will at some point....what time do you leave tomorrow

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 6:24 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

are you nuts. im a cowardly warm blooded jew. call me [redacted]

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

You are not in nyc now are you?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

Im told southern District trying yo get out a rico claim against the org

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:41 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Jesusfuckingchrist....give me one of them....ready for a change

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:39 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

I have two more bidders

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:38 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

At cheryl's...sitting with her...watching trump shit...is Google going to happen?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:36 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

What number are you on? I won't talk sensitive, i want to tell you google

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:21 PM Weingarten, Reid [redacted] wrote:

Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:41 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

im off to europe , tomorrow. .

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 4:37 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:14 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

Privileged - Redacted

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please note

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From: Weingarten, Reid [[redacted]]
Sent: 1/26/2019 7:19:44 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Calm down....it was about 30 years ago, fleeting (and not that bad)

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 2:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

sorry but i cant get the image of a naked lily sanchez out of my head.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:43 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

So knew what your answer was going to be

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:39 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

kathy would tacke me if i were to save you :)

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:30 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Just want to make sure if brad and reid were in a burning building and you could save only one............................

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:21 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

of course not. ! I've been called many things in the press recently -- retarded - is not one of them

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 7:14 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Very small fucking world....obviously don't mention my role with brad till we both think it useful

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Saturday, January 26, 2019 1:12 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

brad represent softbank ,not rajeev , but did speak to him yesterday, re DB

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 6:32 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> Cal me if you get a chance....212 506 3914
>
> **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Friday, January 25, 2019 7:23 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> If he wants you to rep him.   YES
>
> On Fri, Jan 25, 2019 at 10:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Rajeev misra....softbank vision fund...any special jeffrey insights here?
> >
> > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> >
> > **From:** J
> > **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
> > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > **Subject:** Re: Re:
> >
> > im not sheyl,   frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness   . we will resolve it by end of month. .
> >
> > On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:47 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > > Ok....but give me an idea what follows the but....otherwise I will imagine the worst....
> > >
> > > **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> > > **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:43 PM
> > > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > > **Subject:** Re: Re:
> > >
> > > i suggest we wait until face to face   yes he fucked up. but ,,,
> > >
> > > On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:40 PM Weingarten, Reid [redacted] wrote:
> > >
> > > > So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu.... How the fuck are we back here after the unspeakably awful evan barr debacle.... More to the point just tell me where you are on this....did miller fuck up? Something else?   As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc......
> > > >
> > > > **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> > > > **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM

To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:57 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> Not my new guy...not repping him
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** J
> **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:43 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> you seemed to imply that your new guy could only shoot blanks? if thats so. its an easy decision. , if not. oy
>
> On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:09 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > Still have to figure out what my role is in all this shit...
> >
> > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> >
> > ---
> >
> > **From:** J
> > **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:07 PM
> > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > **Subject:** Re:
> >
> > Fun
> >
> > On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 3:05 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > > Crim
> > >
> > > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> > >
> > > ---
> > >
> > > **From:** J
> > > **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:04 PM
> > > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > > **Subject:** Re:

Civil or crime

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 2:59 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> Turns out you were right about sdny but they are "going to wait their turn"...
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** J
> **Sent:** Monday, January 21, 2019 8:01 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> ?
>
> On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:26 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > I will at some point....what time do you leave tomorrow
> >
> > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> >
> > ---
> >
> > **From:** J
> > **Sent:** Monday, January 21, 2019 6:24 PM
> > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > **Subject:** Re:
> >
> > are you nuts. im a cowardly warm blooded jew. call me [redacted]
> >
> > On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 6:18 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > > You are not in nyc now are you?
> > >
> > > Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> > >
> > > ---
> > >
> > > **From:** J
> > > **Sent:** Monday, January 21, 2019 5:43 PM
> > > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > > **Subject:** Re:
> > >
> > > Im told southern District trying yo get out a rico claim against the org
> > >
> > > On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:41 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Jesusfuckingchrist....give me one of them....ready for a change

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:39 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

I have two more bidders

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:38 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

At cheryl's...sitting with her...watching trump shit...is Google going to happen?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:36 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

What number are you on? I won't talk sensitive, i want to tell you google

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 5:21 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:41 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

im off to europe , tomorrow. .

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 4:37 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:14 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

Privileged - Redacted

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/26/2019 5:56:07 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Subject: Re: Re:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dp6-Y6IHECo please watch with the eys that i have opened for you.

On Sat, Jan 26, 2019 at 6:32 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Cal me if you get a chance...[redacted]

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, January 25, 2019 7:23 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

If he wants you to rep him. YES

On Fri, Jan 25, 2019 at 10:34 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

> Rajeev misra....softbank vision fund...any special jeffrey insights here?
>
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
>
> ---
>
> **From:** J
> **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re: Re:
>
> im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .
>
> On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 11:47 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:
>
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>> **From:** J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
>> **Sent:** Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:43 PM
>> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
>> **Subject:** Re: Re:
>>
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>>
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So....remarkably...in the middle of dealing with thiss the Steptoe numbercrunchers advise me Jeffrey has paid about 450 and owes about 300 and seems disinclined to make Steptoe whole.....hhhhhmmmm....first reaction is déjà vu.... How the fuck are we back here after the unspeakably awful evan barr debacle.... More to the point just tell me where you are on this....did miller fuck up? Something else? As you know I am the 800 pound gorilla here, Steptoe is not going to chase you down for the money but there are 500 lawyers here, processes, etc......

From: J [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 4:04 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

do you think he has the goods?

On Tue, Jan 22, 2019 at 9:57 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted]> wrote:

Not my new guy...not repping him

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 3:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

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Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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> **Sent:** Monday, January 21, 2019 8:01 PM
> **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> **Subject:** Re:
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> > **Sent:** Monday, January 21, 2019 6:24 PM
> > **To:** Weingarten, Reid
> > **Subject:** Re:
> >
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> > >
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> > > ---
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Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 5:43 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re:

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>> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
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>>> Then I am going to have to make change the world decisions without you...(I am in london tomorrow-friday but I assume you are going to paris)
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>>> ---
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>>> **From:** J
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Subject: Re:

im off to europe , tomorrow. .

On Mon, Jan 21, 2019 at 4:37 PM Weingarten, Reid <[redacted] wrote:

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Monday, January 21, 2019 4:14 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

Privileged - Redacted

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From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/23/2019 2:42:14 AM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Have thought many, many things about you over the years,,,,,never thought you were my cheryl.....

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: J
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2019 5:51 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: Re:

im not sheyl, frankly i havent been involved in this at all except for the ridiculousness . we will resolve it by end of month. .

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From: Nicholas Ribis [[redacted]]
Sent: 12/23/2018 2:04:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Looks like Mick Mulvaney is out before he starts - knew it after his comments about DJT came public-

Sent from my iPhone

Date: Monday, August 26 2013 02:46 PM
Subject: FW: Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013
From: Boris Nikolic <[redacted]
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

See good article re balmer below.

Still awaiting for call reply

Sent from my Windows Phone

From: John Pinette
Sent: 8/26/2013 4:17 PM
To: Bill Gates
Cc: DL-Press Snapshot
Subject: Press Snapshot: Monday, August 26th, 2013

Headline	Journalist	Outlet	Full Text
Energy			
Nuclear Operator Raises Alarm on Crisis	Hiroko Tabuchi	*New York Times*	Article text
The New Nuclear Craze	Mark Bittman	*New York Times*	Article text
Pipeline-Capacity Squeeze Reroutes Crude Oil	Russell Gold	*Wall Street Journal*	Article text
U.S. Electrical Grid on the Edge of Failure	Jeff Tollefson	*Nature*	Article text
Technology			
Ballmer Departure From Microsoft Was More Sudden Than Portrayed by the Company	Kara Swisher	*All Things D*	Article text
The Decline of E-Empires	Paul Krugman	*New York Times*	Article text
As Amazon Stretches, Seattle's Downtown Is Reshaped	Kirk Johnson & Nick Wingfield	*New York Times*	Article text
State Budgets and Healthcare Costs			
How to Charge $546 for Six Liters of Saltwater	Nina Bernstein	*New York Times*	Article text
States scramble to get health-care law's insurance marketplaces up and running	Sarah Kliff and Sandhya Somashekhar	*Washington Post*	Article text
80 House members: Shutdown better than Obamacare	Charles Babington	*Associated Press*	Article text
Berkshire Hathaway			
No breaking news			
Philanthropy			
Philanthropy: the givers club	Cordelia Jenkins	*Livemint and the Wall Street Journal*	Article text
Global Health and Development			
Pat on the back or force for good: what purpose do development awards serve?	Mark Tran	*Guardian blog*	Article text
Education			
A Chance at Learning	Ginia Bellafante	*New York Times*	Article text
Obama goes for college 'datapalooza'	Nick Anderson	*Washington Post*	Article text
Massively Online And Offline Too: How MOOCs Will Evolve In The Physical World	Giovanni Rodriguez	*Forbes*	Article text
Women and Children			
Indian Police Arrest Suspects in Two Gang Rapes	Sean Mclain and Khushita Vasan	*Wall Street Journal*	Article text
Is there any space in the development debate for African experts?	Andrew Quinn	*Guardian blog*	Article text
Child marriage campaigners in south Asia receive $23m cash injection	Mark Tran	*Guardian blog*	Article text

ARTICLE TEXT

Energy – Full text articles

Nuclear Operator Raises Alarm on Crisis

Hiroko Tabuchi – **New York Times**

The operator of Japan's tsunami-hit nuclear power plant sounded the alarm on the gravity of the deepening crisis of containment at the coastal site on Friday, saying that there are more than 200,000 tons of radioactive water in makeshift tanks vulnerable to leaks, with no reliable way to check on them or anywhere to transfer the water.

The latest disclosures add to a long list of recent accidents, leaks and breakdowns that have underscored grave vulnerabilities at the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant site more than two years after a powerful earthquake and tsunami set off meltdowns at three reactors.

They come two weeks after the prime minister, Shinzo Abe, promised that his government would take a more active role in the site's cleanup, raising questions over how seriously he has taken that pledge. Mr. Abe's government has continued to push for a restart of the country's nuclear power program, and he heads to the Middle East on Saturday to promote Japanese exports to the region, including nuclear technology.

Mr. Abe also plans to lead Tokyo's delegation to Argentina for the International Olympic Committee's final vote, set for Sept. 7, on the host city for the 2020 Olympics. Tokyo, 150 miles south of the stricken nuclear power plant, is one of three finalists competing to host the games. The others are Istanbul and Madrid.

Opposition lawmakers here have demanded that Mr. Abe stay home and declare a state of emergency.

"The nuclear crisis is real and ongoing, yet the government continues to look the other way," said Yoshiko Kira of the opposition Japan Communist Party, which made significant gains in parliamentary elections last month.

"The government should declare a state of emergency right now, and intervene to stop the outflow of contaminated water," Ms. Kira said at an anti-nuclear rally outside Mr. Abe's office in Tokyo.

Mr. Abe remains popular, and it is uncertain how large a liability the crisis at the Fukushima plant will become for him.

But it has become increasingly clear that the latest problems may be too large for the plant's operator, the Tokyo Electric Power Company, or Tepco, to handle.

Tepco has built nearly 1,000 tanks at the sprawling complex to store as many as 335,000 tons of contaminated water, the product of coolant pumped into the reactors to keep their cores from overheating, and groundwater pouring into their breached basements at a rate of 400 tons a day. This week, Tepco said one tank had sprung a huge leak.

On Friday, Tepco presented an even starker view of the situation, acknowledging that as much as 220,000 tons of that water is stored in makeshift steel tanks similar to the one that is leaking. The operator said the 36-foot-tall cylindrical tanks, meant as a temporary repository for the growing amount of radiated water at the complex, used vulnerable rubber sealing and that their ability to withstand radiation was not tested.

The tanks are susceptible to leaks at the seams and through their concrete base, said Noriyuki Imaizumi, the acting general manager of Tepco's nuclear power division. A nearby drain can carry any leaked water to the sea, Mr. Imaizumi said, and high radiation readings along a section suggest that water has already traveled through the drain to the ocean.

The makeshift tanks also lack water level gauges, making it difficult to detect leaks. Only two workers are assigned to checking nearly 1,000 tanks on two-hour patrols twice a day, Mr. Imaizumi said.

The Nuclear Regulation Authority, which the Japanese government ordered to more actively advise and monitor Tepco's activities at the plant, had told the company to begin transferring the water from the makeshift tanks to better-built vessels. But after visiting the plant on Friday, an authority commissioner, Toyoshi Fuketa, said the vast quantities made doing so quickly "unrealistic."

A series of pits Tepco dug to store some of the water also began leaking earlier this year, forcing workers to transfer the water into the steel tanks.

Experts have said they suspect that more contaminated water is seeping out from under the melted-down reactors into the groundwater and the Pacific. Elevated levels of radioactive cesium in surrounding waters seem to confirm those suspicions.

Tepco has said those leaks are not directly from beneath the reactors, but from maintenance tunnels that run along the coast and remain contaminated from the early days of the disaster.

But it also acknowledges that the water beneath the reactors is extremely contaminated, and experts say that if it does get into the ocean, it will surpass even the leaks that occurred in the disaster's early days.

"That prospect scares me," Michio Aoyama, a senior scientist in the Oceanography and Geochemistry Research Department at the government-affiliated Meteorological Research Institute, said in an interview this month.

"It's the ultimate, worst-case scenario," Professor Aoyama said.

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The New Nuclear Craze

Mark Bittman - **New York Times**

There is a new discussion about nuclear energy, prompted by well-founded concerns about carbon emissions and fueled by a pro-nuclear documentary called "Pandora's Promise." Add a statement by James E. Hansen — who famously sounded the alarm on climate change — and, of course, industry propaganda, and presto: We Love Nukes.

Before we all become pro-nuclear greens, however, you've got to ask three questions: Is nuclear power safe and clean? Is it economical? And are there better alternatives?

No, no and yes. So let's not swap the pending environmental disaster of climate change for another that may be equally risky.

Despite all-out efforts and international cooperation, Fukushima, which scared Germany right out of the nuclear power business, still isn't under control. Proponents of nuclear power promise new and safer technology, but these discussions are filled with "coulds"; no such plants exist. Nor would they reduce the risks of proliferation. (Oh, that little thing.)

Nor would they do much to mitigate the all-too-infrequently discussed dangers of uranium mining, which uses vast amounts of water in the West — an area that can ill afford it — and is barely regulated or even studied. Thousands of uranium mines have been abandoned, and no one seems to know how many remain to be cleaned up. The cost of that cleanup, of course, will be borne by taxpayers, not industry.

Then there's disposal of spent fuel, which is not contained at the same safety level as active fuel, itself a scary thought. Decades into the nuclear age there remains, incredibly, no real plan for this; a patchwork scheme by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which appears to be even more industry-friendly than most federal agencies, was rejected by an appeals court last year, and the Obama administration is standing by its campaign promise (shocking, I know) to abandon the nuclear repository at Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

The economic viability of nuclear power is no more encouraging. Plants continue to close and generation rates continue to drop. Operators may indeed continue to make money on reactors, but that's only because federal subsidies are enormous. Insurance costs are limited. Loans are guaranteed (the Solyndra loan guarantee was half a billion dollars; in contrast, loan guarantees for new nuclear plants may run $8 billion); cost recovery and return on investment are also assured for decades, and some operators are able to collect costs from ratepayers (and pay dividends to shareholders) years before plants come online — even if they never come online.

So they're economical as long as you're the owner, because historically, subsidies for nuclear power have been more than double the expense of power generation itself. While estimates of the costs of power generation vary wildly — allowing both proponents and detractors of any given power technology to make their cases — few of them take externalities (costs to the environment or to public health, for example) into account. And nuclear power's externalities could exceed those for any other form of power generation except coal.

That's why we're reducing coal usage — if we had a strong climate policy it would be gone in a couple of deades, and nuclear should be right behind it. It's likely that no new nuclear plants will be built before true renewables are able to take the place of scary, highly damaging energy sources.

Which brings us full circle: the new proponents of nuclear power say that since nuclear power is arguably preferable to coal, maybe we should subsidize the building of new plants.

If those were the only options, maybe that argument would be a sound one. But they're not. Energy efficiency (remember that?), natural gas (imperfect, yes, but improvable) and wind are all cheaper. Even solar is already less expensive than nuclear power in good locations.

Some studies show that renewables can generate 80 percent of our electricity in 2050, using current technologies, while reducing carbon emissions from the electric sector by 80 percent. Climate change fears should be driving not old and disproven technologies but renewable ones, which are more practical. These technologies remain relatively small — non-hydro renewables were around 5 percent of the total last year — but they're growing so fast (wind and solar use have quadrupled in the last five years) that just this week the chairman of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission predicted that solar power could soon begin to double every two years.

Utilities are afraid that solar power will be to the electrical grid what PCs were to mainframes, or e-mail to the Postal Service: a technology that will simply kill its predecessors. Coal and nuclear power are both doomed, and the profit-making power grid with it. That's all to our benefit.

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Pipeline-Capacity Squeeze Reroutes Crude Oil

Russell Gold – **Wall Street Journal**

More crude oil is moving around the U.S. on trucks, barges and trains than at any point since the government began keeping records in 1981, as the energy industry devises ways to get around a pipeline-capacity shortage to take petroleum from new wells to refineries.

The improvised approach is creating opportunities for transportation companies even as it strains roads and regulators. And it is a precursor to what may be a larger change: the construction of more than $40 billion in oil pipelines now under way or planned for the next few years, according to energy adviser Wood Mackenzie.

"We are in effect re-plumbing the country," says Curt Anastasio, chief executive of NuStar Energy LP, NS +0.58% a pipeline company in San Antonio. Oil is "flowing in different directions and from new places."

U.S. oil production has reached its highest level in two decades, while imports have fallen dramatically. A system built to import oil and deliver it to coastal refineries has become ill-equipped to handle rising production in Texas, North Dakota and Canada's Alberta province.

"All of the pipes are pointed in the wrong direction," says Harold York, an oil researcher at Wood Mackenzie. "We are turning the last 70 years of oil-industry history in North America on its head, and we are turning it on its head in the next 10 to 15 years."

With oil prices persistently above $100 a barrel, companies drilling new wells don't want to forgo revenue while they wait years for new pipelines. That leaves them with trucks, trains and barges to move an increasing amount of crude.

Oil delivered to refineries by trucks grew 38% from 2011 to 2012, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, while crude on barges grew 53% and rail deliveries quadrupled. Although alternatives are growing rapidly, pipelines and oceangoing tankers remain the primary method for delivering crude to refineries.

In the Eagle Ford, a large four-year-old South Texas oil field, production has grown to more than 500,000 barrels a day, from less than 1,000 in 2009, according to state statistics. Getting that torrent out of the sparsely populated region has required modifications to the oil-delivery system.

For example, last year NuStar reversed a 16-inch pipeline built to carry crude imported from Africa and Europe northward from the Port of Corpus Christi. Now, the pipeline flows south, taking delivery from hundreds of trucks that fill up at individual wells. Some of the 175,000 barrels a day moving through the pipe is loaded onto barges at Corpus Christi and towed toward refineries near Houston.

Earlier this year, Phillips 66 began putting some of this crude on ships for a 2,200-mile journey around Florida to its refinery in Linden, N.J.

The heavy trucks moving Eagle Ford crude are causing headaches for residents and local officials, ripping up roads and causing traffic tie-ups.

"These are rural roads built for 10 cars an hour, and now it's 100 vehicles an hour, and 75 of them are 80,000-pound trucks," says Tom Voelkel, president of Dupre Logistics LLC. The Lafayette, La., company started hauling crude in Eagle Ford in November 2011 and has more than 100 drivers full time in the region.

The Texas Legislature appropriated $450 million this year to repair and improve roads in oil-producing counties. "It doesn't even begin to reach where it needs to reach," says Daryl Fowler, the chief elected county official in Cuero, Texas, about a hundred miles southeast of San Antonio.

"We've seen a fourfold increase in congestion around here," he says. "The roads are crumbling."

In July, the Texas transportation department decided to convert 83 miles of state road in six oil-boom counties from pavement to gravel, to reduce repair costs and slow traffic.

Trucks filled with Eagle Ford crude are also heading 100 miles west to a barge canal. The first barge of crude departed in September 2011, heading south toward the Gulf of Mexico and refineries near Houston. Now the canal moves 1.6 million barrels a month, says Jennifer Stastny, executive director of the Port of Victoria.

"It's like putting your 5-year-old to bed one night and he wakes up the next morning as a 16-year-old, with the appetite and demands of a 16-year-old," she says.

In North Dakota, trains move 69% of the state's 800,000 barrels a day of crude, according to state figures. Energy companies say they value rail's ability to deliver crude to the highest-paying markets.

But the deadly runaway crude train crash in Canada's Quebec province in July, which incinerated a small town and killed at least 47 people, highlighted the risks of the mile-long crude trains crisscrossing the country. The U.S. government is imposing new regulations on oil shipments by rail.

Some state regulators wonder if their local efforts leave them prepared for a train accident, in part because federal railroad rules pre-empt state and local control over trains.

In Washington state, "we can't say [to train operators] you have to have oil-spill contingency plans in order to operate," says Curt Hart, a spokesman for the state's Department of Ecology. "We do that for oil tankers, barges, large commercial vessels and refineries."

Home to five refineries, the state levies a per-barrel tax on crude delivered by tankers and barges, which pays for spill-response officials and inspectors. The tax doesn't apply to rail shipments.

The American Association of Railroads says it is prepared for growing crude shipments because it has long carried hazardous cargoes. In 2008, major U.S. railroads carried 9,500 carloads of crude, the association says, and are on pace this year to carry 389,000.

Most industry analysts believe that while crude on trains will last, truck and barge traffic will decline once new pipelines come into service.

Environmental groups have criticized some pipeline projects, including the Keystone XL, meant to move Canadian oil to Gulf Coast refineries. The federal government is still studying the Keystone pipeline and has yet to issue needed permits.

Steve Kean, president and chief operating officer of Kinder Morgan Inc., KMI +0.30% one of several interrelated companies that own or operate 82,000 miles of North American pipeline, says government agencies thoroughly vet new projects.

Falling imports, infrastructure investments and increased manufacturing are just some of the benefits of newly abundant energy supplies, he says. "This has got to be one of the best things that has happened in our economy in the past 10 years. It is better than the iPad."

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U.S. Electrical Grid on the Edge of Failure

Jeff Tollefson – **Nature**

Facebook can lose a few users and remain a perfectly stable network, but where the national grid is concerned simple geography dictates that it is always just a few transmission lines from collapse.

That is according to a mathematical study of spatial networks by physicists in Israel and the United States. Study co-author Shlomo Havlin of Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Israel, says that the research builds on earlier work by incorporating a more explicit analysis of how the spatial nature of physical networks affects their fundamental stability. The upshot, published today in Nature Physics, is that spatial networks are necessarily dependent on any number of critical nodes whose failure can lead to abrupt — and unpredictable — collapse1.

The electric grid, which operates as a series of networks that are defined by geography, is a prime example, says Havlin. “Whenever you have such dependencies in the system, failure in one place leads to failure in another place, which cascades into collapse.”

The warning comes ten years after a blackout that crippled parts of the midwest and northeastern United States and parts of Canada. In that case, a series of errors resulted in the loss of three transmission lines in Ohio over the course of about an hour. Once the third line went down, the outage cascaded towards the coast, cutting power to some 50 million people. Havlin says that this outage is an example of the inherent instability his study describes, but others question whether the team’s conclusions can really be extrapolated to the real world.

“I suppose I should be open-minded to new research, but I'm not convinced,” says Jeff Dagle, an electrical engineer at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, Washington, who served on the government task force that investigated the 2003 outage. “The problem is that this doesn’t reflect the physics of how the power grid operates.”

Critical order

Havlin and his colleagues focused on idealized scenarios. They found that randomly structured networks — such as social networks — degrade slowly as nodes are removed, which in the real world might mean there is time to diagnose and address a problem before a system collapses. By contrast, the connections of orderly lattice structures have more critical nodes, which increase the instability. The problem is that such orderly networks are always operating near an indefinable edge, Havlin says. To reduce that risk, he recommends adding a small number of longer transmission lines that provide short cuts to different parts of the grid.

Benjamin Carreras, a physicist at Oak Ridge National Laboratory in Tennessee who has conducted similar work2, says that network theory can be useful for providing insight into electric grids but must be complemented with more complex models that attempt to represent both the physical realities and the responsiveness of the modern electric grid. Although in some cases adding long lines can benefit the overall stability of an electric system, Carreras’ work suggests that in certain circumstances such an approach allows problems to propagate even farther.

“More connections may stabilize some processes, by, for instance, increasing the number of paths to generators, but also may destabilize others,” Carreras says. “One cannot make generic statements on this topic.”

Although local outages caused by falling trees knocking down distribution lines are common, large-scale failures within the core ne transmission lines rarely occur on a modern electric grid. Before 2003, the last major blackout in the United States had been on the west coast in 1996, and more recently an outage has struck in the San Diego area.

Dagle says that the 2003 blackout stemmed from a combination of bad vegetation management — the first three lines tripped after sagging into trees but were all within their load rating — and a series of monitoring and communications breakdowns. Vegetation requirements have since been standardized, and a new generation of sensors is providing grid operators with more information about what is happening across the grid at any given moment.

“Many more utilities have much more data,” Dagle says. “The next phase of our voyage is to make better use of that data.”

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Technology – Full text articles

Ballmer Departure From Microsoft Was More Sudden Than Portrayed by the Company
Kara Swisher – **All Things D**

According to sources close to the situation, the departure of CEO Steve Ballmer from Microsoft last week was more sudden than was depicted by the company in its announcement that he would be retiring within the next year in a planned smooth transition.

It was neither planned nor as smooth as portrayed.

While the decision to go seems to have technically been Ballmer's, interviews with dozens of people inside and outside the company, including many close to the situation, indicate that he had not aimed to leave this soon and especially after the recent restructuring of the company that he had intensely planned.

Instead, sources said Ballmer's timeline had been moved up drastically — first by him and then the nine-member board, including his longtime partner and Microsoft co-founder and chairman Bill Gates — after all agreed that it was best if he left sooner than later.

That was due to a number of increasingly problematic issues on the immediate horizon — including a potentially nasty proxy fight, continued business performance declines and, perhaps most of all, that Ballmer's leadership was becoming a very obvious lightning rod.

Interestingly, Ballmer actually indicated that he had planned on staying in his letter about his impending departure, noting: "My original thoughts on timing would have had my retirement happen in the middle of our transformation to a devices and services company focused on empowering customers in the activities they value most."

That sentence spurred much chatter inside the company, including the persistent rumor that Gates had dropped the bomb on Ballmer. That sentiment was further underscored when Ballmer's letter contained no reference or thanks to Gates, with whom he has been tightly tethered over the last several decades. Its absence has been much discussed internally at Microsoft, where it has been seen as an unusual slight and a sign of a rift.

Gates also did not reference his longtime business partner in any celebratory manner in Microsoft's announcement. "As a member of the succession planning committee, I'll work closely with the other members of the board to identify a great new CEO," said Gates, in the entirety of the quote about Ballmer's retirement. "We're fortunate to have Steve in his role until the new CEO assumes these duties."

Other sources cautioned that it was not indicative of tensions between the pair, but was done to minimize "lame duck concerns" that might arise if Ballmer was portrayed as already out the door.

Those sources also insist that Gates never asked Ballmer to step down sooner, although they acknowledge that he also did not — as Gates had in the past — disagree that it was best that he move on.

"Did Gates instigate it? No," said one source with knowledge of the situation. "But was he as supportive of Ballmer as he had been in the past? Maybe not."

That was still a big change, of course. Gates — who has always been and remains the key decision-maker on Microsoft's board — had always been Ballmer's major backer, despite increasing pressure both externally and from other directors for him to step down.

Gates had rejected such suggestions for years. That included former director and Netflix CEO Reed Hastings, who many sources said had been one of the first to urge that the company replace Ballmer as CEO, as well as from a spate of Wall Street investors complaining about the company's declining value in the Ballmer years.

As AllThingsD's John Paczkowski wrote on Friday: "Here's one metric by which Ballmer will be judged harshly. On the last day of 1999, the day before he took over as CEO, Microsoft's market capitalization was $600 billion. On the day before he announced his intention to retire, it was less than $270 billion."

That's a damning number, of course, coupled with a widespread sentiment that Ballmer had missed critical trends in tech under his tenure. Despite a strong growth in revenue, investors and others had long concluded that Microsoft had thrived when Gates was CEO and waned under Ballmer's rule.

Still, until recently, there has been no signal from the company indicating any change in top leadership. In fact, the management reorganization backed strongly by the board a month ago had essentially placed Ballmer at the center of the structure under a plan described as "One Microsoft."

And, at the time of the restructuring announcement in July, Ballmer's definite and clear message was that he was there to stay:

"Lots of change. But in all of this, many key things remains the same. Our incredible people, our spirit, our commitment, our belief in the transformative power of technology — our Microsoft technology — to make the world a better place for billions of people and millions of businesses around the world. It's why I come to work inspired every day. It's why we've evolved before, and why we're evolving now. Because we're not done. Let's go."

Though early in its rollout, the changes have been jarring and created a level of chaos at the company that has led to much grumbling internally. It also did not help that the restructuring was quickly followed by a dismal Q4 performance by Microsoft.

As I wrote in mid-July: “Microsoft had a bad fourth quarter, mostly because many people are not using PCs any more. In addition, the tech giant took a $900 million charge related to having to cut the price of its Surface RT tablet, which had — as you might imagine — an impact on results. Missed profit expectations, missed revenue, missed all over the ying-yang.”

With the prospect that the next quarter could be weaker still and with numerous reports of late that there has been slowing of adoption from its new flagship Windows 8 offering, Ballmer and the board finally aligned to move his departure date sooner.

Most critical to that decision, source said, were increased board worries that recent pressure from activist investor ValueAct — which has a large stake in the company — had a good chance of succeeding in its efforts to obtain a seat on the board of Microsoft, especially if Ballmer stayed in place.

And even if the software giant was able to thwart that from happening, said several sources, such a public fight is untenable for the company, since it was likely to attract even more scrutiny to Ballmer’s performance and perhaps even more investor action.

ValueAct has until August 30 to notify Microsoft if it plans a proxy battle, and sources said it still wants more that Ballmer’s retirement. In talks, said sources, it has asked for an aggressive stock buyback and also a dividend increase, which might assuage its efforts to garner a board seat.

Ballmer denied any pressure from ValueAct specifically in his decision in an interview with the Seattle Times, though sources said that was simply bluster.

And, even with mounting pressure on him, Ballmer definitely portrayed the change as his decision in an interview he gave to ZDNet’s Mary Jo Foley last week, after his retirement announcement.

“I would say for me, yeah, I’ve thought about it for a long time, but the timing became more clear to me over the course of the last few months,” he insisted.

When asked if Gates asked him to stay or go, he said no, apparently to both. “Bill respects my decision. I mean, it’s one of these things when if it’s — you know, ultimately these kinds of things have to be one’s own personal decision.”

That statement also struck many inside the company as a quick shift. Ballmer, said sources, had been jumping enthusiastically into business review meetings, as part of the new structure, over the last month. In addition, he had expressed to many employees his excitement at being part of the changes he had initiated.

But, in meetings after the announcement, numerous sources inside the company said Ballmer seemed uncharacteristically chastened and quiet, in contrast to his usual confident and forceful manner.

“He was definitely not leaving and then he suddenly was,” said one source. “Even if today’s Steve made the choice, it was a choice yesterday’s Steve did not want to.”

Another source, close to the board, perhaps explained it best: “If ValueAct got on the board, I think Ballmer finally realized that meant it was going to be the hard way from then on out until he left and he did not want that for a company he clearly loves and has been his life.”

Now, those inside the company are turning to what comes next. While not everyone on the board thought that Ballmer should step down without a new CEO in place, it’s moot now as Microsoft turbocharges the process — in place for several years now — to select its next leader.

But, though the committee is headed up by John Thompson, CEO of Virtual Instruments and the former CEO of security software giant Symantec, most expect Gates — as usual — to be the key decision maker on that choice, too.

A Microsoft spokesman declined comment.

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The Decline of E-Empires
Paul Krugman – **New York Times**

Steve Ballmer’s surprise announcement that he will be resigning as Microsoft’s C.E.O. has set off a huge flood of commentary. Being neither a tech geek nor a management guru, I can’t add much on those fronts. I do, however, think I know a bit about economics, and I also read a lot of history. So the Ballmer announcement has me thinking about network externalities and Ibn Khaldun. And thinking about these things, I’d argue, can help ensure that we draw the right lessons from this particular corporate upheaval.

First, about network externalities: Consider the state of the computer industry circa 2000, when Microsoft's share price hit its peak and the company seemed utterly dominant. Remember the T-shirts depicting Bill Gates as a Borg (part of the hive mind from "Star Trek"), with the legend, "Resistance is futile. Prepare to be assimilated"? Remember when Microsoft was at the center of concerns about antitrust enforcement?

The odd thing was that nobody seemed to like Microsoft's products. By all accounts, Apple computers were better than PCs using Windows as their operating system. Yet the vast majority of desktop and laptop computers ran Windows. Why?

The answer, basically, is that everyone used Windows because everyone used Windows. If you had a Windows PC and wanted help, you could ask the guy in the next cubicle, or the tech people downstairs, and have a very good chance of getting the answer you needed. Software was designed to run on PCs; peripheral devices were designed to work with PCs.

That's network externalities in action, and it made Microsoft a monopolist.

The story of how that state of affairs arose is tangled, but I don't think it's too unfair to say that Apple mistakenly believed that ordinary buyers would value its superior quality as much as its own people did. So it charged premium prices, and by the time it realized how many people were choosing cheaper machines that weren't insanely great but did the job, Microsoft's dominance was locked in.

Now, any such discussion brings out the Apple faithful, who insist that anything Windows can do Apple can do better and that only idiots buy PCs. They may be right. But it doesn't matter, because there are many such idiots, myself included. And Windows still dominates the personal computer market.

The trouble for Microsoft came with the rise of new devices whose importance it famously failed to grasp. "There's no chance," declared Mr. Ballmer in 2007, "that the iPhone is going to get any significant market share."

How could Microsoft have been so blind? Here's where Ibn Khaldun comes in. He was a 14th-century Islamic philosopher who basically invented what we would now call the social sciences. And one insight he had, based on the history of his native North Africa, was that there was a rhythm to the rise and fall of dynasties.

Desert tribesmen, he argued, always have more courage and social cohesion than settled, civilized folk, so every once in a while they will sweep in and conquer lands whose rulers have become corrupt and complacent. They create a new dynasty — and, over time, become corrupt and complacent themselves, ready to be overrun by a new set of barbarians.

I don't think it's much of a stretch to apply this story to Microsoft, a company that did so well with its operating-system monopoly that it lost focus, while Apple — still wandering in the wilderness after all those years — was alert to new opportunities. And so the barbarians swept in from the desert.

Sometimes, by the way, barbarians are invited in by a domestic faction seeking a shake-up. This may be what's happening at Yahoo: Marissa Mayer doesn't look much like a fierce Bedouin chieftain, but she's arguably filling the same functional role.

Anyway, the funny thing is that Apple's position in mobile devices now bears a strong resemblance to Microsoft's former position in operating systems. True, Apple produces high-quality products. But they are, by most accounts, little if any better than those of rivals, while selling at premium prices.

So why do people buy them? Network externalities: lots of other people use iWhatevers, there are more apps for iOS than for other systems, so Apple becomes the safe and easy choice. Meet the new boss, same as the old boss.

Is there a policy moral here? Let me make at least a negative case: Even though Microsoft did not, in fact, end up taking over the world, those antitrust concerns weren't misplaced. Microsoft was a monopolist, it did extract a lot of monopoly rents, and it did inhibit innovation. Creative destruction means that monopolies aren't forever, but it doesn't mean that they're harmless while they last. This was true for Microsoft yesterday; it may be true for Apple, or Google, or someone not yet on our radar, tomorrow.

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State Budgets and Healthcare costs – Full text articles

How to Charge $546 for Six Liters of Saltwater

Nina Bernstein – **New York Times**

It is one of the most common components of emergency medicine: an intravenous bag of sterile saltwater.

Luckily for anyone who has ever needed an IV bag to replenish lost fluids or to receive medication, it is also one of the least expensive. The average manufacturer's price, according to government data, has fluctuated in recent years from 44 cents to $1.

Yet there is nothing either cheap or simple about its ultimate cost, as I learned when I tried to trace the commercial path of IV bags from the factory to the veins of more than 100 patients struck by a May 2012 outbreak of food poisoning in upstate New York.

Some of the patients' bills would later include markups of 100 to 200 times the manufacturer's price, not counting separate charges for "IV administration." And on other bills, a bundled charge for "IV therapy" was almost 1,000 times the official cost of the solution.

It is no secret that medical care in the United States is overpriced. But as the tale of the humble IV bag shows all too clearly, it is secrecy that helps keep prices high: hidden in the underbrush of transactions among multiple buyers and sellers, and in the hieroglyphics of hospital bills.

At every step from manufacturer to patient, there are confidential deals among the major players, including drug companies, purchasing organizations and distributors, and insurers. These deals so obscure prices and profits that even participants cannot say what the simplest component of care actually costs, let alone what it should cost.

And that leaves taxpayers and patients alike with an inflated bottom line and little or no way to challenge it.

A PRICE IN FLUX

In the food-poisoning case, some of the stricken were affluent, and others barely made ends meet. Some had private insurance; some were covered by government programs like Medicare and Medicaid; and some were uninsured.

In the end, those factors strongly (and sometimes perversely) affected overall charges for treatment, including how much patients were expected to pay out of pocket. But at the beginning, there was the cost of an IV bag of normal saline, one of more than a billion units used in the United States each year.

"People are shocked when they hear that a bag of saline solution costs far less than their cup of coffee in the morning," said Deborah Spak, a spokeswoman for Baxter International, one of three global pharmaceutical companies that make nearly all the IV solutions used in the United States.

It was a rare unguarded comment. Ms. Spak — like a spokesman for Hospira, another giant in the field — later insisted that all information about saline solution prices was private.

In fact, manufacturers are required to report such prices annually to the federal government, which bases Medicare payments on the average national price plus 6 percent. The limit for one liter of normal saline (a little more than a quart) went to $1.07 this year from 46 cents in 2010, an increase manufacturers linked to the cost of raw materials, fuel and transportation. That would seem to make it the rare medical item that is cheaper in the United States than in France, where the price at a typical hospital in Paris last year was 3.62 euros, or $4.73. One-liter IV bags normally contain nine grams of salt, less than two teaspoons. Much of it comes from a major Morton Salt operation in Rittman, Ohio, which uses a subterranean salt deposit formed millions of years ago. The water is local to places like Round Lake, Ill., or Rocky Mount, N.C., where Baxter and Hospira, respectively, run their biggest automated production plants under sterility standards set by the Food and Drug Administration.

But even before the finished product is sold by the case or the truckload, the real cost of a bag of normal saline, like the true cost of medical supplies from gauze to heart implants, disappears into an opaque realm of byzantine contracts, confidential rebates and fees that would be considered illegal kickbacks in many other industries.

IV bags can function like cheap milk and eggs in a high-priced grocery store, or like the one-cent cellphone locked into an expensive service contract. They serve as loss leaders in exclusive contracts with “preferred manufacturers” that bundle together expensive drugs and basics, or throw in “free” medical equipment with costly consequences.

Few hospitals negotiate these deals themselves. Instead, they rely on two formidable sets of middlemen: a few giant group-purchasing organizations that negotiate high-volume contracts, and a few giant distributors that buy and store medical supplies and deliver them to client hospitals.

Proponents of this system say it saves hospitals billions in economies of scale. Critics say the middlemen not only take their cut, but they have a strong interest in keeping most prices high and competition minimal.

The top three group-purchasing organizations now handle contracts for more than half of all institutional medical supplies sold in the United States, including the IVs used in the food-poisoning case, which were bought and taken by truck to regional warehouses by big distributors.

These contracts proved to be another black box. Debbie Mitchell, a spokeswoman for Cardinal Health, one of the three largest distributors, said she could not discuss costs or prices under “disclosure rules relative to our investor relations.”

Distributors match different confidential prices for the same product with each hospital’s contract, she said, and sell information about the buyers back to manufacturers.

A huge Cardinal distribution center is in Montgomery, N.Y. — only 30 miles, as it happens, from the landscaped grounds of the Buddhist monastery in Carmel, N.Y., where many of the food-poisoning victims fell ill on Mother’s Day 2012.

Among them were families on 10 tour buses that had left Chinatown in Manhattan that morning to watch dragon dances at the monastery. After eating lunch from food stalls there, some traveled on to the designer outlet stores at Woodbury Commons, about 30 miles away, before falling sick.

The symptoms were vicious. “Within two hours of eating that rice that I had bought, I was lying on the ground barely conscious,” said Dr. Elizabeth Frost, 73, an anesthesiologist from Purchase in Westchester County who was visiting the monastery gardens with two friends. “I can’t believe no one died.”

About 100 people were taken to hospitals in the region by ambulance; 5 were admitted and the rest released the same day. The New York State Department of Health later found the cause was a common bacterium, Staphylococcus aureus, from improperly cooked or stored food sold in the stalls.

MYSTERIOUS CHARGES

The sick entered a health care ecosystem under strain, swept by consolidation and past efforts at cost containment.

For more than a decade, hospitals in the Hudson Valley, like those across the country, have scrambled for mergers and alliances to offset economic pressures from all sides. The five hospitals where most of the victims were treated are all part of merged entities jockeying for bargaining power and market share — or worrying that other players will leave them struggling to survive.

The Affordable Care Act encourages these developments as it drives toward a reimbursement system that strives to keep people out of hospitals through more coordinated, cost-efficient care paid on the basis of results, not services. But the billing mysteries in the food poisoning case show how easily cost-cutting can turn into cost-shifting.

A Chinese-American toddler from Brooklyn and her 56-year-old grandmother, treated and released within hours from the emergency room at St. Luke’s Cornwall Hospital, ran up charges of more than $4,000 and were billed for $1,400 — the hospital’s rate for the uninsured, even though the family is covered by a health maintenance organization under Medicaid, the federal-state program for poor people.

The charges included “IV therapy,” billed at $787 for the adult and $393 for the child, which suggests that the difference in the amount of saline infused, typically less than a liter, could alone account for several hundred dollars.

Tricia O’Malley, a spokeswoman for the hospital, would not disclose the price it pays per IV bag or break down the therapy charge, which she called the hospital’s “private pay rate,” or the sticker price charged to people without insurance. She said she could not explain why patients covered by Medicaid were billed at all.

Eventually the head of the family, an electrician’s helper who speaks little English, complained to HealthFirst, the Medicaid H.M.O. It paid $119 to settle the grandmother’s $2,168 bill, without specifying how much of the payment was for the IV. It paid $66.50 to the doctor, who had billed $606.

At White Plains Hospital, a patient with private insurance from Aetna was charged $91 for one unit of Hospira IV that cost the hospital 86 cents, according to a hospital spokeswoman, Eliza O’Neill.

Ms. O’Neill defended the markup as “consistent with industry standards.” She said it reflected “not only the cost of the solution but a variety of related services and processes,” like procurement, biomedical handling and storage, apparently not included in a charge of $127 for administering the IV and $893 for emergency-room services.

The patient, a financial services professional in her 50s, ended up paying $100 for her visit. “Honestly, I don’t understand the system at all,” said the woman, who shared the information on the condition that she not be named.

Dr. Frost, the anesthesiologist, spent three days in the same hospital and owed only $8, thanks to insurance coverage by United HealthCare. Still, she was baffled by the charges: $6,844, including $546 for six liters of saline that cost the hospital $5.16.

“It’s just absolutely absurd.” she said. “That’s saltwater.”

Last fall, I appealed to the New York State Department of Health for help in mapping the charges for rehydrating patients in the food poisoning episode. Deploying software normally used to detect Medicaid fraud, a team compiled a chart of what Medicaid and Medicare were billed in six of the cases.

But the department has yet to release the chart. It is under indefinite review, Bill Schwarz, a department spokesman, said, “to ensure confidential information is not compromised.”

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States scramble to get health-care law’s insurance marketplaces up and running

Sarah Kliff and Sandhya Somashekhar - **Washington Post**

With a key deadline approaching, state officials across the country are scrambling to get the Affordable Care Act’s complex computer systems up and running, reviewing contingency plans and, in some places, preparing for delays.

Oct. 1 is the scheduled launch date for the health-care law’s insurance marketplaces — online sites where uninsured people will be able to shop for coverage, sometimes using a government subsidy to purchase a plan. An estimated 7 million people are expected to use these portals to purchase health coverage in 2014.

The task is unprecedented in its complexity, requiring state and federal data systems to transmit reams of information between one another. Some officials in charge of setting up the systems say that the tight deadlines have forced them to take shortcuts when it comes to testing and that some of the bells and whistles will not be ready.

“There’s a certain level of panic about how much needs to be accomplished but a general sense that the bare minimum to get the system functional will be done,” said Matt Salo, executive director of the National Association of Medicaid Directors. “It will by no means be as smooth and as seamless as people expected.”

Oregon announced this month that it will delay consumers’ direct access to its marketplace, opening the Web site only to brokers and consumer-assistance agents in order to shield consumers from opening-day glitches.

“Even though we’re testing now, once you actually have the system up, you don’t know what the bugs will be,” said Amy Fauver, spokeswoman for Cover Oregon, the state agency implementing the law there.

In California, which has the nation’s largest uninsured population, health officials have begun hinting that they may have a similar problem.

“It’s a complex system, and there’s a lot of navigation that needs to happen,” said Oscar Hidalgo, a spokesman for Covered California. He said the agency will know by early September whether the system will be ready in time.

If not, he said, customers will still be able to log on to the Web site and peruse insurance plans and view prices. When they get to the final step, however, they will not be able to sign up. They will have to contact a customer service representative to complete the final enrollment step.

Officials with the District of Columbia’s Health Link decided to put off building a Spanish version of its Web site until later this year, giving its staff bandwidth to complete other tasks they see more critical to the launch.

Until then, the District will have bilingual call-center workers and in-person helpers who will be able to help Spanish speakers navigate the site.

The hiccups are troubling to advocates, who worry that there will be mistakes that result in people being erroneously rejected by Medicaid or denied subsidies to which they are entitled. They are concerned that impediments will discourage the uninsured from signing up for coverage.

“There will be something up and running, but there will be serious, serious difficulties with it” that could result in delays and errors initially, said Robert H. Bonthius Jr., a lawyer at the Legal Aid Society of Cleveland. “It’s an extremely ambitious program, well-intentioned, that is going to be very difficult to accomplish, and it’s going to be months and maybe years before it really gets sorted out.”

Much of the difficulty stems from the information the federal government needs to determine who qualifies for which health-law program, including data on citizenship, income, residence and employment. State systems will need to communicate seamlessly with a federal data hub that pulls in information from the Department of Homeland Security and the Internal Revenue Service, among others.

President Obama has predicted “bumps” and “glitches” in the initial launch of the exchanges. Health and Human Services Secretary Kathleen Sebelius has acknowledged a very tight time frame that has required the government to test the hub in imperfect conditions, but she has said it will still launch on time.

“Ideally what you would do if you were building a data hub that needs this kind of information, you’d put a piece together and test that. You test it, if you will, sequentially,” she said in an interview. “We have to build and test simultaneously. . . . It’s a big operational issue, but all systems are a go for the first of October.”

Sixteen states decided to build their own health-insurance marketplaces, with the rest leaving all or much of the task to the federal government. Those states are now in the process of, or have completed, testing to share data back and forth with the data hub.

“There were times when the hub had to be taken offline. . . . So we couldn’t test until they got it back online,” said Jon Hager, executive director of Nevada’s Silver State Health Insurance Exchange. “But I think the end result, and everything I’ve seen, says it will be ready.”

Hager has invested significant time preparing contingency plans for his state, including one for a situation in which the federal data hub does not work, though he said he believes that to be a relatively unlikely scenario.

“If there’s a new rule, that could throw us into a quandary,” Hager said. “You could have, I don’t know, a disaster or a fire. I think we’ve got backup and contingency plans for everything.”

The federal government handles all testing of these connections for states that did not build a portal and chose instead to rely on the federally facilitated marketplace.

State Medicaid programs, which typically serve low-income individuals, are also undergoing testing with the federal data hub. At least one state, Arizona, has not begun that work. It will start testing in September, a late start that worries the executive director of the state's marketplace.

"It's a concern that we're testing this late," said Tom Betlach, who runs the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System. "Usually when you do testing, you have to go ahead and address any changes. Given the October 1st start date, I don't know much of it will be an iterative process."

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80 House members: Shutdown better than Obamacare

Charles Babington – **Associated Press**

More than one-third of House Republicans urged their leader Thursday to trigger a government shutdown rather than pay for the implementation of the health-care law they call Obamacare.

A letter from 80 Republicans asked Speaker John Boehner, R-Ohio, to resist any spending bills that would accommodate the new health-care law, which is nearing a critical stage of signing up millions of Americans for health coverage.

Because it's virtually certain that President Obama and the Democrat-controlled Senate would reject such demands, leaders of both parties say the standoff likely would result in a partial shutdown of the federal government, similar to those that occurred in 1995 and 1996.

The letter is mixed news for Boehner and other GOP leaders who view a government shutdown as politically unwise.

The federal 2013 fiscal year ends Sept. 30. New money must be appropriated by then to avoid a shutdown of countless government offices and agencies.

Voters chiefly blamed congressional Republicans for the mid-1990s shutdowns, and the fallout boosted Democratic President Clinton. Ever since, many establishment Republicans have urged the party to avoid using shutdown threats as a bargaining tool.

But a new generation of tea-party-backed conservatives rejects the advice. They say "Obamacare" — officially the Affordable Care Act — is so unpopular and unworkable that it justifies extraordinary tactics to block it.

A possible solution to the budget impasse, often used in past years, would involve a "continuing resolution" to keep funding the government at current levels. Many top Republicans, including Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, say it's impossible to carve out money for Obamacare in any appropriations measure.

The House letter was authored by Rep. Mark Meadows, R-N.C. It urges Boehner "to affirmatively de-fund the implementation and enforcement of Obamacare in any relevant appropriations bill," including "any continuing appropriations bill."

At least a dozen Senate Republicans have signed a similar letter.

In recent years, Democrats and Republicans in Congress repeatedly have failed to reach major compromises on spending.

The impasses led this year to automatic, across-the-board spending cuts known as sequestration, which have hampered some federal agencies and helped shrink the deficit.

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Philanthropy – Full text articles

Philanthropy: the givers club

Cordelia Jenkins – **Livemint and the Wall Street Journal**

On Friday, around 60 prospective philanthropists attended the "First Givers Club" summit in Delhi run by the online philanthropic donation forum GiveIndia. While the club has existed in Mumbai since 2010, said Dhaval Udani, GiveIndia's CEO, this was their first foray into the capital city. Mint was the media partner of the event.

"With this club, we wanted to create a platform for like-minded individuals to build a community of donors who share knowledge and vision; it will also help to facilitate giving effectively," Udani told his audience. "Our aim is to help you get more exposure and awareness of the different aspects of philanthropy; over the last three years this club has helped channel more than Rs.18 crore to the lives of more than 10,000 underprivileged in India."

Rakesh Bharti Mittal, vice-chairman and managing director of Bharti Enterprises, along with speakers Anu Aga of Thermax and Amit Chandra of Bain Capital gave their perspectives on how and where to give effectively and on the future of Indian philanthropy. Edited excerpts:

Rakesh Mittal set up the Satya Bharti school programmes in 2006. The aim was to set up 500 primary and 50 secondary schools of its own with a corpus of Rs.200 crore. After that, state governments began reaching out and Bharti began adopting government schools, creating a public-private partnership in delivering quality education to rural children.

"Given the new companies Bill, which has been passed by Parliament, I assume within the next two three months the rules will be finalized; there is going to be a mad rush for seeking funding. Already, I get a letter every other day for supporting a cause...If I see corporates have been very powerful instruments and drivers of philanthropy, this comes from the wider wealth creation and management role which they do in their businesses. Today they are looking at doing more beyond business, not because the government is forcing them, but because we cannot have islands of wealth. You cannot take this country forward if we are just worried about what I have and what I need for me and my family, and the ecosystem and the society around is crumbling. This country will not move forward."

"If I go back a few centuries giving had been a very rich tradition; it used to be that 10% of your income would be kept aside for a cause. During those times more money went into either building temples or temples of learning, which are the schools and colleges. Pre-1990, Indian corporates were not giving that much, including the individuals, and there was a reason because we did not have sustainable wealth creation opportunities, either for ourselves, our families, or our large stakeholders as we were running the companies.

"This all changed in the post-1991 year of liberalization. In the last two decades, more and more, new age economies moved this country to prosperous economic growth and suddenly you saw people wanting to give back to society because now you have a model which was creating sustainable wealth for yourself."

"There are individuals who may give money and their time, but there are also entrepreneurs, young entrepreneurs who produce products which are low in cost but make a huge impact for the people who use it. This is the brief India is looking at in the landscape today and this will be a stepping stone for the future."

"Giving at Bharti has always been part of our DNA, it was always our endeavour to make a difference. At the beginning, in the mid-70s, we were more interested in creating businesses which could impact society at large. If I look at telecom, retail, agri and food processing we wanted to make a difference and not a buck. In 2000 we set up Bharti Foundation with the sole objective of supporting the youth of India and enabling the underprivileged to come and compete with anyone.

"We started writing cheques and one day I felt that was not the purpose, the fact is there are 320 million children in the age of 6-16, we talk of demographic dividend—absolutely yes, if we nurture this potential, but if we don't do justice to these children there is a disaster which is waiting to happen.

“The way things are going I am not feeling very positive. I am a born optimist; we are spending billions of dollars but is that being delivered efficiently? The answer is no, all of us know that, and that’s why we keep going back to the government; public-private–partnerships is going to be the key to move forward, you have the resources we have the management expertise let’s join hands. And it has started moving.”

Anu Aga led Thermax Ltd from 1996-2004, after retirement she remains on the company’s board of directors. The chairperson of TFI (Teach For India) was nominated to Rajya Sabha in 2012.

“My giving actually started when I lost my son, who was 25 and died in a car accident. Having studied abroad, poverty really bothered him. We who live in India, we become quite insensitive to seeing poor people, but he kept saying a substantial part of our wealth has to go to charity.”

“It started in a very small way, it’s not as if I gave away crores and crores at once. It started with me getting personally involved and I like that model very much, I’m not very happy with just writing a cheque and not getting involved. I was involved with Akansksha and then I was invited to join their board—it ran centres for slum children and I brought it to Pune.

“We have six schools, now this is done by the CSR wing of Thermax, but Shaheen (Mistry) then started Teach For India, which personally I support.

“From the family wealth, it’s my daughter and I who decide on things. The bulk of our giving is to Teach For India and Akanksha, but we also give to an institute called Parivaar in Calcutta, which is for the poorest of the poor. In Bihar we are giving to a school run by an ex-police officer for the rat-eating tribe. The main underlining thing is credibility. Giving without being involved does give me that little fear, but at the same time I would rather make a few mistakes than mistrust everybody.

“There is a lovely body called Caring Friends in Bombay, where a few hundred people meet informally. It’s not an NGO, the two people who started it incubate NGOs which are new from their own money, and after a few years when they become credible, bring it to the others and ask for money from them.”

Amit Chandra is managing director of Bain Capital and responsible for the firm’s India initiative. He is also chairperson of the Akanksha Foundation that works in the field of education for less privileged children.

“Even though I came from a lower middle class family, we were always taught as children to give and share whatever we had. For me the big inflection points were as I was working at DSP Merrill Lynch and I rose through the ranks, I got success relatively early. I was running the firm before I was 35 but there was still a sense of unease that I had with everything I saw around me. I think the unease was on two counts, one was that by virtue of running what was the largest investment bank at that time I got to work with a lot of families and I realized that wealth did not necessarily translate into happiness when you really got to know a lot of these people individually.

“In fact, wealth built a sense of entitlement amongst the next generation, it built a sense of extreme bitterness amongst siblings, and it often was a source of great degree of unhappiness. And another thing, having had the opportunity to study in the West, I realized that when you look at leaders with legacy, a very vast percentage of leaders who had any degree of legacy where the ones who had given back to society. These issues were beginning to bother me.

“My wife and I were inspired by what Chuck Feeney (Irish-American businessman and philanthropist and the founder of The Atlantic Philanthropies) did. We decided to cap the amount of wealth we wanted to have as a family, and so my wife and I walked into a lawyer’s office, and I transferred how much she thought was needed for her, my daughter, and to support my living, and we said from this day onwards everything else basically goes to charity.

“What that did for us was actually incredible because our constraint after that point in time was to find good causes that could be scaled up. That’s where the GiveIndia team came in extremely handy because we’ve set a budget every year for ourselves which is higher than the previous year with the objective really being to effectively give away all our income every year.

“I think giving your time is critical to being able to scale up giving your money. The two things have to go hand in hand. There is no substitute to actually giving time and approaching it the same way you would approach businesses and investments.

The biggest network we use is the GiveIndia network. Working with their team allows us to screen and monitor, before that we were able to support a handful of NGOs. Now we have a reasonable portfolio across all the areas we are interested in. I don't think that scale up would be able to happen if we hadn't leveraged the GiveIndia team."

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Global Health and Development – Full text articles

Pat on the back or force for good: what purpose do development awards serve?
Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

Divyesh Thakkar has just returned from refugee camps in Ethiopia, where he was surprised to see portable solar lanterns designed by his company still in use three years after their distribution.

The batteries for the prototype lamps were expected to last only two years, but were still functioning at the Jijiga camp near the Somali border.

"It's amazing they're still working and to see them changing lives," said Thakkar, who is based in Leicester. "People are going to university thanks to the lamp."

The solar lantern, which looks like an old-fashioned kerosene hurricane lamp, won an innovation award last year at AidEx, an annual trade show bringing together suppliers and buyers of products for the aid industry. The lamp has a built-in solar panel to charge its four AA-sized batteries.

The lantern has an obvious advantage over kerosone-fuelled equivalents: with no flame or smoke emissions, it is safer and more environmentally friendly. The batteries are made for 500 cycles, or about two years, but the longevity of the lamps in Ethiopia has come as a pleasant surprise. In a novel twist, the lantern, which costs $38 (£24.50), can also be used to charge mobile phones.

The award provided a huge fillip for Thakkar's company, Sunlite. As word spread, relief agencies placed increasingly large orders. About 100,000 of the lamps have been (or are being) used after emergencies in Japan, the Philippines, Thailand and Syria.

Sunlite makes 15,000 lamps a month at two plants in India, including one in a special economic zone in Gujarat state.

Next month, there will be a new winner at AidEx in Brussels, the third year of the award. The innovation award sits alongside a crowded field of honours in the development world, although AidEx is geared more towards humanitarian needs.

Awards seem to be proliferating. Last month, 53 finalists met in Washington to showcase ideas to save the lives of mothers and newborns in developing countries. The award is given by the Saving Lives at Birth partnership, launched in 2011, which includes USAid, Norway, Grand Challenges Canada, backed by the Canadian government, the UK's Department for International Development, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

In October, the Mo Ibrahim foundation will announce its prize for achievement in African leadership, established in 2007. Past winners include presidents Joaquim Chissano and Festus Gontebanye Mogae, of Mozambique and Botswana respectively, although the prize is not awarded if no one meets the criteria.

Sceptics may wonder whether these accolades contribute meaningfully to development, or exist only to make donors feel good while sidestepping more fundamental, structural issues. For instance, the Gates foundation awarded $100,000 to the California Institute of Technology last year for designing a solar-powered toilet that breaks down water and human waste into hydrogen gas for use in fuel cells.

The competition was for "next-generation" toilets to improve sanitation in the developing world. Would that money have been better spent on supporting community-led total sanitation – a project to end open defecation that has had considerable success?

Calestous Juma, international development professor at the Kennedy school of government and a nominator, judge and promoter of new types of prizes, sees awards as part of a complex ecology of financing innovation that includes many other instruments. He believes there should be more prizes for humanitarian work and development.

"Doing humanitarian work may look like a thankless job. Yet it is driven by the instinct of empathy that makes us human," said Juma, author of The New Harvest: Agricultural Innovation in Africa. "Honouring, rewarding, celebrating and inspiring work in this area is more needed today than ever. This is an area that can use more societal recognition, especially at a time when the whole aid industry is under scrutiny."

However, Juma says prizes need to be carefully thought out. "Many organisations are launching them without thinking carefully about what prizes can do or cannot do."

The AidEx challenge's lead judge, Michael Pritchard, inventor of the Lifesaver water bottle, says the award is not so much about the money – £2,000 – as validation, although the publicity can be a much-needed boost.

"The validation goes an awfully long way to get the product developed and provides a big leg-up into getting it into the market," he said. "It gets written up all over the world and gets the oxygen of publicity."

As for Thakkar, he says winning the AidEx award has been a positive experience: "Winning the award made a huge difference, it increased publicity. People look more favourably on us and [that] gives us an extra edge. We don't have to sell it as much. But we don't want to be just appreciated, we want the lamp to be used extensively."

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Education – Full text articles

A Chance at Learning
Ginia Bellafante – **New York Times**

This year, a study administered by researchers at Harvard and Stanford drew significant attention for what it revealed about how inadequately low-income students are represented at selective colleges and universities. Only 34 percent of the highest-achieving high-school seniors whose families fell in the bottom quarter of income distribution — versus 78 percent in the top quarter — attended one of the country's most selective colleges, based on a list of nearly 250 schools compiled by Barron's.

In New York City, where a neighborhood like Bushwick, in Brooklyn, can seem like a satellite campus of Wesleyan and a prewar apartment building on the Upper East Side can feel like an Ivy League dormitory for 46-year-olds, there has been considerable philanthropic attention, of the kind other cities ought to envy, paid to finding the most gifted low-income students and putting them on a similar path.

In 1978, Gary Simons, a Bronx teacher, founded Prep for Prep with the goal of identifying talented students of color in the city and readying them for attendance at private schools like Dalton and Groton and so on. Hundreds of the program's alumni have gone on to law, medical and business schools, and employment at Goldman Sachs, JPMorgan Chase and Time Warner.

A decade ago, hoping also to advance the best students attending public high schools, Mr. Simons and others founded another organization, Leadership Enterprise for a Diverse America, or LEDA, which draws exceptional children from around the country, regardless of race, almost entirely from families who make less than $55,000 a year. Applicants are required to be in the top 10 percent of their class, having taken the most difficult courses their schools offer. The 60 who gain entry to the program each year spend the summer before 12th grade at Princeton, studying ethics, political theory and public policy, and preparing for standardized college entrance exams.

In a wondrous righting of the current disequilibrium, however small its scale, they are tutored for those tests by the same instructors who work with some of Manhattan's wealthiest teenagers: the staff of Advantage Testing, whose services cost parents up to $795 an hour. Arun Alagappan, the founder and president of Advantage and a major benefactor of LEDA, provides his employees (whose résumés typically resemble those of the people at Google or McKinsey) pro bono.

LEDA has been very successful. Of the 500 or so students who have graduated from the program, three quarters have gone on to top-tier colleges, 30 percent of them to the Ivy League. Among LEDA's 2012 graduates alone, 19 gained admission to Princeton, 11 to Georgetown and 6 to the University of Pennsylvania.

Last week I took a walk around Red Hook, Brooklyn, with Joshua El-Bey, a LEDA graduate who was leaving in a few days for his sophomore year at Yale. His family struggled as he grew up, moving often and ultimately landing in the Red Hook Houses, the borough's largest public housing development. His first memories of book learning, he told me, were the readings his mother delivered from Genesis when he was 2. What was disconcerting about Mr. El-Bey's otherwise incredibly inspiring trajectory was how much of his success had depended on opportunities outside the public education system.

Bullied in middle school for his studiousness, Mr. El-Bey hoped to gain admission to one of the city's elite specialized public high schools, but he did not do well enough on the entrance exam. The free tutoring provided by the city for the test was insufficient, he said.

He ended up at Edward R. Murrow in Midwood, Brooklyn, a good school whose academics were nevertheless surpassed by the supplemental training he received as a scholar at Sponsors for Educational Opportunity, an organization begun 50 years ago by Manhattan lawyers and advertising executives as a mentoring program to get poor minority students into good colleges. Today it essentially provides a shadow education. In school, Mr. El-Bey told me, he simply learned to "regurgitate facts."

Programs like LEDA and S.E.O. are popular with wealthy, supremely educated donors, precisely because of outcomes like Mr. El-Bey's. Just this May, the financier Henry R. Kravis pledged $4 million in matching gifts to S.E.O.

And in a city as dense with talent and money as New York, the effects of such philanthropy can be effortlessly observed. Walking through his neighborhood, Mr. El-Bey ran into another alumnus of S.E.O., Luis Hernandez, who was about to begin his freshman year at the University of Southern California. In a precocious accomplishment more typical in other neighborhoods, Mr. Hernandez had won a screenwriting contest for a film about obesity that had already made its debut on the Showtime cable channel.

As a society we have begun to pay increasing and essential attention to gaining access to the top, but the brightest among us might do well to apply equal focus to how we might enhance the middle.

Most students, rich or poor, will not go to Harvard, while plenty of working-class and poor students will go to colleges that serve them not nearly well enough. Not long ago, our son's caregiver, who is taking classes at LaGuardia Community College in Queens, showed me a paper she had written for a class in English composition taught by a teacher who was consistently late and twice absent. It was on Ibsen's "A Doll's House" and my husband had helped her. It incisively analyzed the play's theme of 19th-century marital oppression and was impeccably written.

When our nanny received her grade, she was shocked not to have done as well as she had expected. Her formatting had been imprecise, the teacher told her. And there was a problem with spacing. Content seemed not to matter much at all.

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Obama goes for college 'datapalooza'

Nick Anderson – **Washington Post**

In President Obama's plan to overhaul higher education, which envisions using new federal ratings of colleges to determine levels of student aid, there is a deep faith in the power of information and innovation to catalyze change in colleges and universities.

Ultimately, the belief is that these forces will make college more affordable.

Yet academia has witnessed and taken part in many waves of innovation in the past half-century, and affordability remains elusive.

The administration's faith is encapsulated in a word the White House used this week in a fact sheet about the plan:

“Datapalooza.” Here’s the reference:

“New college ratings will help students compare the value offered by different colleges,” the fact sheet said. “The Department of Education will enlist entrepreneurs and technology leaders with a ‘Datapalooza’ to catalyze new private-sector tools, services, and apps to help students evaluate and select colleges. The effort will be complemented by earnings information by college that will be released for the first time on [the] administration’s College Scorecard this fall.”

What is a datapalooza? Apparently, it is a festival of, or related to, data. The White House and the Education Department hosted such an event Oct. 9. Students and parents are arguably awash in data now, much of it conflicting and confusing. Some would say more is better.

Few would argue that better data would be best of all for the consumer.

The yen for better data is shared not just by Obama but also by some colleges. Start with graduation rates.

Now, the federal government measures how many students graduate within four years or six years of starting college. But it only measures that for students who are first-timers, who are enrolled full-time and who don’t transfer from one institution to another, omitting a huge share of the college population. Millions of students are part-timers. Community colleges with excellent records of getting students into prestigious four-year schools are not rewarded for their efforts if those students fail to pick up an associate’s degree before they transfer. Nor are four-year colleges that give transfer students or former dropouts a second chance and help them get a bachelor’s degree.

The Association of Public and Land-grant Universities, which represents schools such as the University of Maryland, is spearheading an effort to improve this flawed metric, using not only federal data but also information from the nonprofit National Student Clearinghouse to track degree completion for students who move from one school to another.

One question Education Secretary Arne Duncan will face, as he confers with colleges to create a ratings system within the next two years, is what kind of graduation rate the government will use. Another is what kind of data the government will report on income of college graduates.

All we know about the federal rating metrics at this point are rough sketches from the fact sheet, highlighting these potential factors: “access, such as percentage of students receiving Pell grants; affordability, such as average tuition, scholarships, and loan debt; and outcomes, such as graduation and transfer rates, graduate earnings, and advanced degrees of college graduates.”

The plan envisions that ratings will be tied to student aid formulas by 2018, if Congress agrees. That is a big if. It’s also a year after Obama’s term ends.

There is nothing in the plan that would force states to give more funding to public higher education, one of the key cost drivers in tuition. The president recognized the issue, touting a proposal that he has made before — a “Race to the Top” incentive fund of $1 billion for higher education. This fund would aim to spur state reforms and reward states that maintain strong higher education funding, much as an identically named fund for K-12 education did in 2009 and 2010. But it is unlikely to win congressional approval.

Obama’s plan highlights innovation. The president gave a major shout-out to a movement to award degrees based not on how much time students spend in class but on how well they master their material, citing an experiment under way at Southern New Hampshire University and one that is about to launch at the University of Wisconsin.

“So the idea would be if you’re learning the material faster, you can finish faster, which means you pay less and you save money,” Obama said Thursday in a speech at the University at Buffalo. This notion is indeed revolutionary in academia because most degrees are awarded based on the concept of a credit hour — which is a rough measure of the time a student spends doing work in and for a course.

Obama also underscored the online learning movement, which has gained steam in recent years, saying that it holds out the promise of reducing costs. Carnegie Mellon, Arizona State and Georgia Tech universities won coveted presidential mentions in the speech. So did the University of Maryland, in the fact sheet. Fans of massive open online courses, or

MOOCs, took heart from this.

What exactly can the administration do to hasten technological innovation besides hosting datapaloozas? The fact sheet points to two proposals: one that requires money, and one that doesn't. A "First in the World" fund of $260 million, presumably requiring congressional approval, would "test and evaluate innovative approaches to higher education that yield dramatically better outcomes." Education officials liken this to a $650 million "Investing in Innovation" fund created under the 2009 stimulus law that has been used as seed money for experiments in K-12 education.

And the Education Department could cut regulatory barriers to innovation, whatever those might be. Education officials said Friday that they plan to solicit ideas from colleges on what government rules are hindering innovation. Many educators might say that red tape gets in the way of experiments in distance learning and degree programs not organized around the traditional credit hour.

The fact sheet asserts: "The Department will use its authority to issue regulatory waivers for 'experimental sites' that promote high-quality, low-cost innovations in higher education, such as making it possible for students to get financial aid based on how much they learn, rather than the amount of time they spend in class."

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Massively Online And Offline Too: How MOOCs Will Evolve In The Physical World

Giovanni Rodriguez – **Forbes**

I was at the airport about this time last Sunday, when I overheard a conversation that's becoming quite commonplace. One person was explaining to another what a MOOC was, but he couldn't remember what the letters stood for. As someone who regards himself as an amateur, ad-hoc, in-the-moment teacher, I felt compelled to help him out: "Massive. Open. Online. Course." He thanked me. He had been struggling to remember the "open" part of the MOOC message. And, even more interesting, he had been struggling to remember the word "course."

Over the past few months, more and more clients and partners have been coming to me to deconstruct not just the acronym but also the attributes of MOOCs. So often in fact that I have decided to write a short series on the subject. There are many things to say about both the true impact and hype about MOOCs in the larger narrative that's emerging about disruption in education. But from where I sit, what's most important to note about MOOCs in 2013 is something that the acronym does not yet capture: the massive disruption we're seeing in education will be online and offline, too.

Experience

There are at least three reasons for this. And each of these reasons deserves at least one post, but I'll be super brief here. The first is that the online experience of MOOCs will almost certainly evolve in a way that teachers, students, and staff will look to find ways to meet with one another. This will either happen by design (by intent and with care) or it will happen organically. Almost certainly, the producers of MOOCs will look to do this with some sense of design, while leveraging the organic power of networks to grow by themselves. And if you have been following the evolution of MOOCs, you already know that the online experience is still a work in progress. My business colleague, Chris Bennett — a behavior designer and gamification expert — and I recently spoke about this: many are stuck in the old paradigm of delivering education to the consumer, rather than leveraging the greatest assets of the new medium (co-creation, crowdsourcing, collaboration). By redesigning the online experience to become more interactive, innovators in the MOOC world will see the possibilities for offline experience.

Inventory

Another reason for thinking about physical space: while the world ponders the impact that the costs of higher education will have on schools that are struggling to compete, the inventory of quality physical space that becomes available will appeal to organizations that need it. A couple of years ago, I had the privilege of serving as an advisor to a White House initiative that traveled the country meeting with leaders in large spaces in a network of state and community colleges. As a former theater producer, I was impressed with the availability and quality of these spaces. In theater — and other kinds of shared, quasi-spiritual, transformative experience — physical space is everything. Innovators in the MOOC world will get wise — if they haven't already — to the existence of networks of spaces (there are many different networks, as I will show in a later article) and make them come alive for their clientele.

Opportunity

And I use the word clientele to make a final point: innovation in the MOOC world will not just come from educators, but from any organization that sees the value of massive online and offline courseware. As my own clientele have come to realize, education in the 21st century is not just something you do before you become an adult but a modality of experience that empowers you throughout your entire life. No reason for schools to own the entire market for those kinds of experiences. But I expect the most enterprising schools — especially those with great or underused physical inventory — to partner with organizations that now have the opportunity to rethink themselves for the education market. In the meantime, it may be time to reassess the MOOC acronym to make the opportunities more obvious. “Massive Online Offline Communities” seems more like it. And unlike the online communities of the past, these communities are learning communities, driven by the new lifelong modality of transformative experience. Expect a land grab for branding and positioning. The disruption in education is just beginning, and the players are just becoming visible.

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Women and Children – Full text articles

Indian Police Arrest Suspects in Two Gang Rapes
Sean Mclain and Khushita Vasan – **Wall Street Journal**

Indian police Sunday were holding 10 men suspected of involvement in two highly publicized gang-rape cases—one in urban Mumbai, the other in rural Jharkhand state—highlighting India's struggles with sexual violence.

In Jharkhand in eastern India, police said they had detained five suspects in connection with the rape of a policewoman by a group of men who had set up a roadblock on a highway. The attack occurred Thursday, but wasn't reported to police until Friday, they said.

Five other men were in custody Sunday in the Mumbai case, in which a 22-year-old magazine intern taking photographs of dilapidated buildings was assaulted Thursday in an abandoned textile mill in the city, police said.

The attacks come as the trial of five people accused in the December gang rape and murder of a 23-year-old student on a Delhi bus entered its final phase. That crime sparked nationwide demonstrations and prompted the government to introduce harsher penalties for crimes against women.

Protesters took to the streets of Mumbai on Friday to decry the assault on the magazine intern in a city that has a reputation as a relatively safe place for women. In 2012, the incidence of rape in the Western Indian metropolis was about half the national rate, according to the National Crime Records Bureau.

"I've always felt much safer in Mumbai compared to other Indian cities," said Sanika Prabhu, a television producer from Mumbai. "After this incident, I feel like I don't recognize this city anymore."

Mumbai police said the magazine intern was with a 21-year-old male companion when she was attacked Thursday. The assailants tied his hands with his belt and raped the woman from 5:30 p.m. to 7 p.m., an official at N.M. Joshi police station said. Medical tests confirmed the rape, he said.

Under Indian law, rape victims cannot be named in media accounts.

There were 24,915 reported rapes in India in 2012, according to the National Crime Records Bureau, including 233 in Mumbai. The victims in almost half the Mumbai cases were between 14 and 18 years old.

Activists say the number of rapes is much higher, as many go unreported. India also has a poor record on convictions, with only around a quarter of alleged rapists convicted in 2010.

In Jharkhand, police said the rape of the police constable occurred at around 1:30 a.m. on Thursday, as she and her relatives were transporting the corpse of her brother-in-law for cremation.

"They were accosted by five or six young men who had set up a roadblock," said S.N. Pradhan, a police official in Jharkhand. According to the criminal complaint, the men stole 40,000 rupees ($625) and then ordered the woman out of the vehicle. "Then they took her to the bush and raped her one by one while others stood watch," he said.

The rape wasn't reported until Friday, when police—investigating reports of highway robbery—discovered a photo of a policewoman near where the thefts occurred. "The superintendent of police asked her why her photo was there and only then did she report the rape," Mr. Pradhan said.

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Is there any space in the development debate for African experts?
Andrew Quinn – **Guardian blog**

At a 2012 TEDxChange conference in Berlin, African women's development fund CEO Theo Sowa turned the spotlight on an uncomfortable truth: African women may be the focus of many development campaigns, but they are rarely represented as drivers of the discussion.

"When people portray us as victims, they don't want to ask us about solutions. Because people don't ask victims for solutions," Sowa told the audience.

Of course, experts from Africa and other parts of the developing world are pioneering solutions to a vast range of development challenges on everything from improving maternal health to boosting sustainable crop output. Bringing their perspectives to light should be an integral part of development work, particularly as the international community contemplates the next steps in the global development agenda beyond the 2015 MDGs.

Celebrity advocates, government officials and major funders all have ready-made platforms for spreading their views – the power of their brand is often enough to build an audience.

But for those without immediate recognition, the task is harder. The Aspen Institute's New Voices Fellowship, launched this year with support from the Bill & Melinda Gates foundation, is one attempt to start figuring out an answer by providing both media coaching and contacts for development experts from Africa and, eventually, other parts of the developing world.

Development experts, so focused on their endless and crucial work, often neglect this area. Yet finding ways to leverage yours or your colleagues' public visibility is not as difficult as it sounds. Media training can be expensive, but enormously beneficial. Persistence pays off. And above all, helping people to think like "thought leaders" can bring real results.

Our fellows represents a cross-section of the work under way in Africa today, from a Congolese doctor seeking to build a health system in one of the remotest parts of his country to a Ghanaian tech entrepreneur devising new strategies for expanding math and science education in rural communities. Each one is an expert, and each one has a story to tell. Helping them to craft their stories, and find an audience, have been our challenges.

The audience, at least initially, has been the easy part. The explosion of online and issue-driven media over the past decade has created a wide range of outlets, many of which are eager to bring new voices to light. Development-focused media such as the Guardian's Global Development section, general interest aggregators such as the Huffington Post, and geographic specialists such as AllAfrica.com and Think Africa Press all represent potential platforms for fresh writing about development issues. Even mainstream outlets such as CNN and Al Jazeera are welcoming new contributors for their opinion sections, while professional community portals such as Business Fights Poverty and the Guardian Global Development Professionals Network can open the door to engaged specialists who care deeply about the challenges ahead.

Add to this the increasingly crowded schedule of conferences and meetings ranging from the Clinton Global Initiative and Skoll World Forum to TEDx events held around the world and it's clear that there are a wealth of opportunities to reach important audiences with new stories.

Crafting those stories has proved a little trickier. While the development-focused media has expanded, the standard for what makes a compelling blog, speech or opinion piece have not: clear writing and cogent argument backed up by solid evidence and examples. Putting the pieces together, and injecting the right personal note to make for a truly memorable piece, takes work, self-confidence and practice.

For our first New Voices Fellowship meeting in Johannesburg in June, we set up a series of training sessions on how to handle media interviews, how to behave on camera, and how to build an online presence. But the most important part of the curriculum turned out to be a crash course in confidence: how to believe in the importance of what you have to say. For many of our fellows, unused to thinking of themselves as "thought leaders", the leadership component was new territory. We learned that helping the fellows define their specific areas of expertise, and to understand how that personal expertise can translate into important contributions to the global development discussion, was an essential starting point. One fellow, an expert on maternal health from Tanzania, found new confidence in the fact that alongside her medical degrees she has personal experience as an African mother. Another, who specialises in poverty alleviation in Nairobi's slums, began to harness his own stories about growing up in those slums to buttress his points about development in informal settlements.

These are exactly the types of new perspectives that will inform and enrich development policy discussions. At Aspen, we will be recruiting our next class of New Voices fellows starting mid-September, and look forward to learning from and working with other organisations which are committed to expanding the dialogue about what works – and what doesn't – in global development.

Andrew Quinn is director of the New Voices Fellowship at the Aspen Institute.

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Child marriage campaigners in south Asia receive $23m cash injection
Mark Tran – **Guardian blog**

By the age of 17, Zeenat had been divorced three times after forced marriages. She first wed shortly after puberty to a man who abused her, an experience that recurred in her subsequent marriages.

She became so isolated that she did not go to the hospital or ask for help. Neither had she heard of India's Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act of 2005, which made her husband's violent outbursts not just wrong, but illegal.

Sadly, her story is all too common. Every year about 10 million girls become child brides, and one in seven girls in the developing world marries before the age of 15.

Bangladesh, Nepal and India have three of the highest rates of child marriage, with 68.7%, 56.1% and 50% respectively of girls married before the age of 18. Child marriage is not just a question of poverty – although that is a critical issue – but also of how girls are viewed in society.

"Even with higher levels of income, there is the practice of child marriage," said Care International's gender director, Theresa Hwang. "It is an issue of status; girls are valued in a lesser way. In India, girls are not seen as 'added value'. The issue is squarely tied to gender equality and social norms."

Care USA, the US arm of the anti-poverty NGO, and the American Jewish World Service (AJWS) this week received grants of $7.7m (£4.9m) and $15.3m respectively from the Kendeda fund to tackle child marriage in south Asia. Both organisations will use the money to support local NGOs.

Founded 10 years ago, the Kendeda fund worked initially on environmental sustainability in the US, but last year created a girls' rights portfolio. AJWS will focus on India, Care on Nepal and Bangladesh.

All three countries have laws against child marriage, but implementation has proved difficult. Civil child marriage laws are not enforced, and religious or social customs prevail.

In Nepal, Care supports groups such as Chunauti, which seeks to spread its message against child marriage among schools and local businesses. The local NGO persuaded factories to put anti-child marriage slogans in their production materials. It also convinced a food catering business not to cater for child marriage ceremonies.

For Care and AJWS, the logical route is to work through local partners familiar with regional conditions and practices, and based where the pressure points are. For the local NGOs, it shows they are not working alone on a difficult problem only now receiving the attention it merits.

The UN high-level panel appointed by Ban Ki-moon, the UN secretary general, to look at development targets to replace the millennium development goals when they expire in 2015, has urged the recognition of child marriage as a key indicator of female empowerment. In another sign that child marriage is moving up the development agenda, Girls Not Brides, the global partnership to end child marriage, was formed in September 2011 to tackle the problem.

Empowerment can come through that catch-all term, livelihoods training. Groups such as Brac, the Bangladeshi NGO, for example, have created clubs in Uganda where young girls learn to develop confidence through storytelling and songwriting. They also learn more practical skills, from financial literacy and tailoring to agricultural work.

Backed by AJWS, Mohammad Bazar Backward Classes Development Society in West Bengal takes a similar approach. The organisation, which works with marginalised Muslim and tribal women and children in urban Kolkata, runs a school for girls as well as vocational training for women in the rural area of Birbhum.

"We work to build girls' aspirations, promote girls' ideas of themselves when they don't have aspirations, and engage with key decisionmakers – parents, teachers and religious leaders," said Javid Syed, Asia programme officer for AJWS.

AJWS helped change Zeenat's life. It provided her with vocational training, allowing her to become financially independent and diminishing the likelihood that economic need will turn her towards another abusive marriage. If Zeenat does marry again, the hope is that she will have the support of her family and the ability to leave the marriage if she chooses, in full knowledge of her rights.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 2/15/2013 4:52:58 PM
To: Larry Summers [redacted]

take-it-or-leave-it deal by the U.S. on the nuclear issue is the wrong strategy

Ray Takeyh

February 14, 2013 -- On Feb. 26, the United States and Iran will once more resume their diplomatic ritual, in the so-called six-party talks, over Iran's disputed nuclear program. As the two perennial adversaries eye one another, there are competing paradigms about how to deal with Tehran.

An emerging school of thought suggests that the best means of "testing" Iran is to offer it a final nuclear agreement that presumably promises measurable relief from sanctions for significant Iranian concessions. Iran's failure to grasp such an offer would then conclusively demonstrate to both domestic and international audiences that the cause of the impasse is not American belligerence but Iranian truculence.

But this approach fails to recognize that an arms-control process is necessarily an incremental one, nor does it offer a practical substitute to the existing step-by-step diplomacy.

Iran's nuclear program encompasses a vast complex of enrichment facilities, centrifuge construction plants, uranium extraction companies and thousands of scientists working in university and government laboratories. Iran is enriching uranium at both 5% and 20% levels, experimenting with high-velocity centrifuges and seemingly in the process of constructing additional enrichment facilities.

Such a multilayered, multifaceted program can be dealt with only on a piecemeal basis, as the technical details and rules for inspections are too complex to be addressed in a single agreement.

Moreover, should the United States offer Iran a final deal, Tehran still has a right to contest and negotiate its provisions and offer counterproposals.

The international community is unlikely to concede to either more sanctions or the use of force until Iran's objections are taken into full consideration. As such, a grand deal that is supposed to provoke a moment of clarity is likely to be enmeshed in the existing, protracted arms-control process.

Another complication is the advent of public opinion and critical constituencies in Iran devoted to the perpetuation of the program. The growing public sentiment is that Iran has a right to acquire a nuclear capability. As the program matures, it is becoming a source of pride for a citizenry accustomed to the revolution's setbacks and failures.

Also emerging is a bureaucratic and scientific establishment with its own parochial considerations for sustaining the nuclear investment. A clerical leadership that is dealing with a restive population and empowered security services cannot easily dispense with its nuclear trump card.

All this suggests that the best means of addressing Iran's nuclear challenge is to mitigate its most dangerous dimensions. The focus should remain on Iran's high-grade enrichment and its underground nuclear facility nestled in mountains outside Qom. Tehran seems to have conceived an ingenious path to nuclear advancement, one that involves increasing the size and sophistication of its civilian atomic apparatus to the point where it can quickly surge into a bomb. While staying within the rules of the International Atomic Energy Agency's inspection process, Iran is essentially expanding its capabilities while shielding them under the veneer of legality. Given the fact that much of civilian nuclear technology can easily be misappropriated for military purposes, Iran can construct an elaborate nuclear infrastructure while remaining within IAEA guidelines.

The diplomatic challenge is to derail this path to a nuclear weapon by imposing significant restraints on its program. And this can still be done through a process that proceeds incrementally and sequentially.

U.S. officials would be wise to get out of the crisis mode and put some time back on the clock. The Iran issue always seems urgent, and yet somehow there is always time to deal with it. Washington should acknowledge the obvious, namely, that given Iran's gradualist approach, it is still years from completing an efficient enrichment infrastructure, constructing a nuclear arsenal and developing a reliable means of delivery. By agreeing to a compressed timeline, the U.S. only narrows its options and makes a solution even more elusive.

As the United States again contemplates its Iran conundrum, it should eschew calls for a take-it-or-leave-it deal. The history of Iran's confrontation with the international community suggests that keeping it a crisis situation benefits the Islamic Republic. Ironically, it is the Western powers that have generated alarmist conditions. And then to escape the predicament of their own making, they offer Iran more concessions and further incentives.

To avoid a repeat of that outcome, it would be prudent to have a sense of proportionality and appreciate that, in the end, time works best for the United States and not the economically beleaguered theocracy.

Ray Takeyh is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Article 2.

The Guardian

Whether it's North Korea or Iran, sanctions won't work

Simon Jenkins

13 February 2013 -- Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. 'Threats and sanctions have not weakened the regime's determination to proceed [with nuclear weapons], but rather weakened opposition to it'. Photograph: Sven Hoppe/EPA

North Korea has set off a third nuclear test explosion. It has done so in defiance of the UN, America, Japan and even, reportedly, its sponsor, China. It has said to hell with everyone, in a brutal comment on western economic sanctions.

The UN security council met yesterday and Washington threatened "significant consequences" – code nowadays for "tighter sanctions". Every shred of evidence suggests that these will not achieve the declared goal. They will merely add to the impoverishment of North Korea's people by its own government. Sanctions are the most counter-productive tool known to diplomacy. Yet we keep imposing them. Why?

Sanctions assume that all countries react to external pressure as might a capitalist democracy. They assume a misguided regime will change its mind and put financial advantage above its definition of national interest. "Smart sanctions" (really dumb sanctions) further assume the rich can be punished without punishing the poor, and that all dictators' wives want to fly abroad and shop at Harrods. They assume that trade guides political action and political action trumps dictatorship.

Economic sanctions are hugely popular to western politicians, not because of their effect but because of their cause: the desire to stand on an international stage and being seen to "do something". They are the least-cost first resort of the laptop bombardiers of global intervention. They sound punitive and aggressive without inflicting any hardship on the imposer.

After North Korea the other target in the sanctions frame is Iran. Everything at present suggests that ever-tighter sanctions have done nothing to curb Iran's nuclear programme. Indeed, by inducing paranoia, probably the reverse. Sanctions have certainly "bitten", to the glee of their advocates. They have brought inflation and a collapse in the currency, the rial. They have harmed ordinary people and solidified sentiment against the west and the "great Satan" of the US. Assassination and cyber-weapons have wiped out a few scientists and scrambled a few computers.

What sanctions have not done is weakened the power of the ayatollahs or their private army, the Revolutionary Guards. Both seem as secure as ever, while (relatively) moderate civilian politicians are reduced to feuding and arresting each others' children. Iran's nuclear programme appears to proceed independent even of the organs of its own state.

A spoof article in the Economist last year portrayed Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, ruminating on western nations' obsessive posturing towards his country. He mused that these were unstable, unreliable places, dangerous though probably not all mad. But since it was hard to be sure, "I would feel a lot safer if we already had that bomb". Similar insecurity drove sanctioned Cuba to accept Russian missiles in the 1960s, and sanctioned Iraq and Libya to pretend to build weapons of mass destruction in the 1990s.

Sanctions never stop bad things happening. Rather they entrench dictators, build up siege economies and debilitate the urban middle class from which opposition to dictatorship grows. As Khamenei said in a speech a year ago, sanctions were "painful … but make us more self-reliant". Indeed, for a regime to be sanctioned is to receive an elixir: witness Castro, Gaddafi, the ayatollahs and the ruling cliques of Burma, Afghanistan and North Korea. That sanctioned regimes sometimes come to an end is not proof that sanctions work, rather that they take a long time and usually require war to "work".

This is a rarely researched topic because sanctions are diplomatic ideology rather than science. A debate in 1998 in International Security magazine saw the Chicago academic, Robert Pape, barely challenged in his view that only around five of the 115 cases of sanctions imposed since the war could claim any plausible efficacy. Most merely inflicted "significant human costs on the populations of target states, including on innocent civilians who have little influence on their government's behaviour". They are a ready invitation to war.

When I was reporting on South Africa in the 1980s I became convinced that sanctions were aiding import substitution and benefiting the Afrikaner economy, probably giving apartheid an extra decade of life. They likewise prolonged Ian Smith's regime in Rhodesia. Sanctions made Libya's Gaddafi so rich he could spoon money into the London School of

Economics. They made Saddam Hussein one of the 10 wealthiest people in the world. Besides, sanctions create sanctions-busting which, like drugs, is a global criminal industry born entirely of the idiocy of western diplomacy.

A year ago the Foreign Office defended yet another round of sanctions against Tehran on the grounds they would "hasten Iran's economic collapse and deepen rifts within the regime, in the hope that saner voices will deem the price of pursuing nuclear weapons too high". Economies don't collapse, any more than poverty changes governments. Even Greece, now the most "sanctioned" nation in Europe, has not collapsed. Places just get poorer. As for "saner voices", they go into exile, hiding or prison. That's where sanctions send them.

Iran is a proud nation of 80 million mostly Muslim people, one of many Asian and African states struggling between theocracy and democracy, tradition and modernity. These are agonising struggles among and within peoples, to which the west has contributed nothing but hostility and belligerence. Under the cloak of "counter-terror", it has been as crass as it was during the Crusades. Of course no one wants to see nuclear weapons spread. Russia tried to stop China getting them. China tried to stop North Korea. The west tried to stop India and Pakistan, while hypocritically tolerating Israel and the replenished arsenals of France and Britain. No pressure made the slightest difference to anyone.

If Iran really wants a nuclear weapon, it will get one – the more so when it is threatened with dire retribution if it does. That is how such states react to pressure. Ever since the dodgy election of 2009, threats and sanctions have not weakened the regime's determination to proceed, but rather weakened opposition to it. If ever there was a country unlikely to respond to diplomatic bullying, it is Iran. If ever there was a country that might respond to constructive engagement, to commercial, governmental and cultural intercourse, it is also Iran. Why the west should want to make it another North Korea passes comprehension.

Article 3.

The Washington Institute

Year of Decision: U.S. Policy toward Iran in 2013

James F. Jeffrey and Thomas Pickering

February 12, 2013 -- *On February 7, 2013, James F. Jeffrey and Thomas Pickering addressed a Policy Forum at The Washington Institute. Ambassador Jeffrey, a former assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor, is author of the new Institute study Moving to Decision: U.S. Policy toward Iran. Ambassador Pickering served in numerous key posts at home and abroad over a five-decade career, including undersecretary of state for political affairs. The following is a rapporteur's summary of their remarks.*

JAMES F. JEFFREY

The move to decision on Iran is the most pressing and dangerous issue on the U.S. and international agenda in 2013. The year ahead will largely define the longstanding struggle between Washington and Tehran, and the considerable stakes involved make it absolutely crucial that a swift and decisive resolution be achieved. Regardless of the outcome of the nuclear issue, however, Iran will continue to present a long-term challenge to the United States because of clashing ideologies, conflicting foreign policy goals, and Iran's claim to regional hegemony.

There are four likely outcomes to the nuclear issue: a unilateral Iranian decision to halt or dramatically slow its progress toward a nuclear weapon; a negotiated outcome, whether through the P5+1 (i.e., the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany) or bilateral negotiations; a military strike, as threatened by President Obama and Israeli prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu; and an explicit or implicit shift to containment, indicating that Washington would be prepared to coexist with a nuclear-armed Iran.

The most effective resolution would be a negotiated outcome -- to achieve it, Washington will need to take preliminary steps on several fronts. A serious compromise needs to be put on the table, including an offer to suspend crippling oil sanctions in return for specific, verifiable Iranian steps to eliminate any nuclear breakout capabilities. Equally significant is establishing a credible military threat, given that Tehran has been willing to endure increasing economic pressure in order to continue its nuclear program. The regime is unlikely to concede anything during negotiations if it does not believe that Washington will actually follow through on such threats. Although specific public redlines are often unpalatable, the Obama administration must clarify internally when it would take military steps, and these intentions must be made clear to the Iranians.

In the same vein, the military option requires a credible negotiating complement, as seen in the early 1990s with Iraq. To legitimize military action against Saddam Hussein's regime, Washington had to prove that all other options had been exhausted. Similarly, the only way to set the predicate for military action against Iran is to show the regime and the international community that everything has been tried, and that Washington has left Tehran with a way out. Failure to do so would undermine the legitimacy of any strikes.

It is also important to understand that curtailing Iran's nuclear progress will not by itself alter the regime's regional agenda -- nuclear ambitions are but an extension of Tehran's wider aspirations toward hegemony in the Middle East. Unfortunately, none of the longer-term proposals for addressing that issue seem feasible at the moment (e.g., regime change by internal or external means; a shift in Tehran's views on the Supreme Leader and succession; a "grand deal" between Washington, Iran, and the international community).

One lesson to be learned from past interactions with Tehran (or lack thereof) is that when the United States proactively opposes Iranian aggression in the Middle East, the regime relents, but when Washington offers a more passive response, Iranian aggression increases. With respect to Syria, for example, it cannot be assumed that Bashar al-Assad will fall at all, let alone quickly, without active U.S. engagement. If the Assad regime does in fact survive, Iran would become increasingly emboldened, with potentially disastrous consequences for the United States and its allies and interests in the Middle East.

Denuding U.S. forces in the region to enable a pivot to Asia is also risky. Nowhere else in the world is America more likely to deploy forces than in the Persian Gulf in opposition to Iran, and nowhere else is it of utmost importance that any potential confrontation be won decisively in the next five to ten years than with the Islamic Republic.

Going forward, Washington must discriminate between Iranian behaviors it considers unacceptable -- such as support for terrorism, hegemonic ambitions, and progress toward nuclear weapons -- and those it can tolerate. U.S. officials could open the door for negotiations by making clear to Tehran that they do not seek regime change; the first step in that regard would be to let Iran know that Washington respects it as a nation-state and not a transnational revolutionary movement.

Finally, disorganization within the U.S. government and a "go it alone" mentality have accounted for many of Washington's internal difficulties in responding to the Iranian challenge. To alleviate this problem, all cabinet-level officials must be in constant and complete coordination, devoid of routine bureaucratic obstacles. In addition, the appointment of a senior subcabinet official whose sole responsibility is Iran (or, alternatively, a small group of officials in constant coordination) could allow the administration to reorganize bureaucratically in preparation for this year of decision.

THOMAS PICKERING

Discussions of containment policy typically imply accepting the Islamic Republic as an inevitable nuclear power and using deterrence to deal with a nuclear-armed Iran. Yet such an outcome would be disastrous for U.S. nonproliferation policy, which is based on the notion that fewer nuclear states means less chance of miscalculated use. If Iran attains a nuclear weapon, other regional powers would likely follow suit -- clearly an undesirable outcome for the international community.

At the other end of the spectrum, using military means in the short term to guarantee prevention would entail a vast use of force -- essentially an unofficial, semipermanent occupation of Iran. This is not a viable path, particularly since other diplomatic possibilities have not yet been exhausted.

Similarly, sanctions, while effective, are not sufficient by themselves. They must be intertwined with negotiations -- as Washington and its allies increase the pressure, cohesive and meaningful talks with equivalent concessions should follow suit. Some have argued that negotiations should expand to a "big for big" format, but decades of mistrust between the United States and Iran make smaller deals more practical. Such an approach would have to focus on ending Iran's most problematic enrichment activity: processing uranium to the 20 percent threshold, which makes the leap to weapons-grade material much easier. Instead, the regime could limit itself to 5 percent enrichment, and under strict supervision by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The intelligence community widely believes that although Iran has not yet decided to make a nuclear weapon, it is still moving to acquire all the necessary capabilities in case it chooses that path. Accordingly, Washington will need to obtain a concrete Iranian commitment to convert its stocks of readily upgradeable gaseous uranium into metallic fuel elements, which pose significantly less of a threat. A serious inspection system would need to be implemented in order to monitor these requirements. In return, the Iranians would expect the lifting of nuclear-related sanctions. They would also likely ask for acknowledgement that they have the right to continue their civil enrichment program, whether for supposed use in cancer treatment or to safeguard against a potential Russian decision to cease fueling the Bushehr reactor.

Thus far, President Obama has been frustrated at the lack of progress in response to his openness toward the Iranian regime, and his new cabinet has an obligation to help him solidify a negotiating position that improves the situation. If the Iranians continue to reject U.S. positions that seemingly respond to some of their demands, then the administration should begin applying other pressures. These steps should be taken sooner rather than later so that the parties can move toward a mutually acceptable conclusion.

Washington must also keep in mind that Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has the last word on all matters in Iran, and that negotiations will go only as far as he allows them to go. In years past, he issued a fatwa condemning nuclear weapons -- Washington could take advantage of this fact by drafting a UN Security Council resolution endorsing the fatwa. This could be a small step toward boosting Khamenei's international profile while simultaneously pressuring Iran to follow its own religious decree.

To be sure, regime change remains an attractive alternative on paper, and some in Washington view it as an insurance policy. Historically, however, regime change has not been a successful option for the United States, and internal attempts at toppling Iran's leadership have thus far been crushed by Stalinesque suppression, including the 2009 uprising. Despite such failures and Washington's limited influence in Iranian domestic affairs, U.S. policy should be to demonstratively support popular democratic movements.

Article 4.

TIME

Spy Fail: Why Iran Is Losing Its Covert War with Israel

Karl Vick

Feb. 13, 2013 -- Slumped in a Nairobi courtroom, suit coats rumpled and reading glasses dangling from librarian chains, the defendants made a poor showing for the notorious Quds Force of the elite Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. Ahmad Abolafathi Mohammed and Sayed Mansour Mousa had been caught red-handed and middle-aged. And if the latter did them a certain credit — blandly forgettable always having been a good look for a secret agent — the prisoners still had to explain why they had hidden 15 kg of the military explosive RDX under bushes on a Mombasa golf course.

Created to advance Iran's interests clandestinely overseas, the Quds Force has lately provided mostly embarrassment, stumbling in Azerbaijan, Georgia, India, Kenya and most spectacularly in Thailand, where before accidentally blowing up their Bangkok safe house, Iran's secret agents were photographed in the sex-tourism mecca of Pattaya, one arm around a hookah, the other around a hooker. In its ongoing shadow war with Israel, the Iranian side's lone "success" was the July 18 bombing of a Bulgarian bus carrying Israeli tourists — though European investigators last week officially attributed that attack to Iran's Lebanese proxy, Hizballah. That leaves the Islamic Republic itself with a failure rate hovering near 100% abroad and an operational tempo — nine overseas plots uncovered in nine months — that carries a whiff of desperation. A Tehran government long branded by U.S. officials as the globe's leading exporter of terrorism may be cornering the market on haplessness.

Within Iran's own borders, however, the story is different. Twice in the past two years Iranian intelligence has cracked espionage rings working with Israel's Mossad, Western intelligence officials tell TIME. In both cases, the arrests were the furthest thing from secret: announced at a news conference, each was later followed up by televised confessions broadcast on Iranian state television in prime time. Given Iran's history of trumped-up confessions, skepticism is more than justified. But the arrests appear to be solid. One intelligence official said the captured Iranians provided "support and logistics" to the Mossad operatives who carried out the assassinations of Iranian nuclear scientists.

At least four scientists were killed on Tehran's streets from 2010 to 2012, when, as TIME has reported, Israel ratcheted back on covert operations inside Iran. Officially, Israel has remained silent on the killings, though government officials will coyly say they welcome the deaths. The Jewish state maintains the same ambiguous posture on other "setbacks" to Iran's nuclear program widely — and correctly, Western intelligence officials say — attributed to Mossad, from the Stuxnet computer virus, to mysterious explosions like the massive blast at a missile base, which destroyed ballistic missiles that could reach Israel.

The covert onslaught dovetails with Israel's history of reaching "over the horizon" to disarm perceived threats at a distance. To keep advanced arms from reaching Hamas and Hizballah, Israel in the past year sent warplanes to bomb convoys and arms depots in Sudan and Syria, respectively, without apparent retribution. In the case of Iran, however, experts say the audacity of Israel's covert campaign stirred Tehran to revive an espionage effort that lay largely fallow since 9/11. The Spy vs. Spy contest that ensued would prove woefully one-sided, even in the third-world countries where Iran chose to strike, hoping to avoid heightened security awareness in the developed world. In the end, its only success came inside Iran, where the secret police operate without inhibition.

The shadow war may have started on Jan. 15, 2007, the day Ardeshir Hosseinpour passed away. Hosseinpour was a specialist in electromagnetics at the Nuclear Technology Center in the city of Isfahan, Iran, but his death might have escaped notice had Iran's government not kept it under wraps for almost a week, finally attributing it to fumes from a faulty heater. An online report by the American private intelligence firm Stratfor suggested another cause — radioactive poisoning — and hinted that Mossad's Caesarea section was back in business. Caesarea, named for an Israeli beach town that dates back to Roman times, is the operations branch of Israel's secret service, most notoriously responsible for the assassinations of some two dozen Palestinians (and an innocent waiter) after the 1972 Munich Olympics. Assassinations are carried out by a very small unit dubbed Kidon, the Hebrew word for "tip of the spear." Kidon operates at a remove from the legions of Mossad employees working in less lethal fields.

It would have been a unit called Hatzomet, or "The Junction," that recruited Majid Fashi, a handsome young Iranian who dropped out of high school to pursue a career in kickboxing. By the account he gave on Iranian state television early in 2011, Fashi presented himself at the Israeli consulate in Istanbul in 2007 and was vetted for a solid year before being shown any trust. Two years later, on Jan. 12, 2010, he would place a bomb on a motorbike parked on the sidewalk outside the Tehran home of Masoud Alimohammadi; the nuclear physicist was killed when it was detonated by remote control.

In the broadcast, Fashi accurately described the Mossad campus north of Tel Aviv. He said he had been given a laptop equipped with a second operating system and used it to communicate through online drop boxes. He was impressed by his handlers' thoroughness. At one point Fashi described studying a scale model of Alimohammadi's street. "It was an exact copy of the real one," Fashi said. "The tree next it, the street curb, the bridge." In a later broadcast, he was seated across from Alimohammadi's widow, who glared at him as he bowed his head and wept. Mossad officials were "pissed off and shocked" seeing their agent on television, the intelligence official said.

Fashi was executed in May 2012. About the same time, Iran's intelligence minister announced the arrest of 14 more Iranians, eight men and six women dubbed members of the "Terror Club" in the subsequent prime-time broadcast of that name. Filmed in shadow, and rich in atmospherics, the Aug. 5 program recreated Alimohammadi's death and four subsequent attacks: they started with the Nov. 29, 2010 nearly simultaneous attempts on Majid Shariari and Fereydoun Abbasi, nuclear scientists driving to work when magnetic "sticky bombs" were attached to the side of their cars from passing motorcycles. Abbasi managed to escape before it detonated, saving his wife as well. Shariari was killed — a significant setback for the Iranian nuclear program where he was the top scientist, according to a Western intelligence official.

The confessed agents offered absorbing detail — they were aboard a Bajaj Pulsar, wearing helmets, when the magnet bomb stuck on the right front panel of Shariari's car exploded. The riders scrambled into the "trail car" assigned to follow the target and disappeared into the traffic of the Imam Ali Autobahn. Already gone was the car assigned to cut off and slow the car carrying the scientist. They claimed to have rehearsed on a practice track inside Israel. None of the details could be confirmed, but an intelligence official acknowledged: "Another network was taken."

The third scientist, Dariush Rezaeinejad was shot on July 23, 2011 after picking up his child at a day care; his wife described hearing shots whiz by as she chased the assailants. The most recent assassination was the Jan. 11, 2012 death of Mustafa Ahmadi-Roshan, an expert on uranium enrichment, also by a magnet bomb slapped on his car during his morning commute.

By then, Iran was trying to strike back. The task of avenging the scientists fell to the sprawling Quds Force's own covert-operations division, known as Unit 400. It took a shotgun approach, targeting Israeli diplomatic missions in a variety of countries, mostly in the developing world where the global antiterrorism mesh is not so fine. Exposed in Baku, Tbilisi, Johannesburg, Mombasa and Bangkok, the failures mounted at a pace that was itself one of the problems. In the world of espionage, a quality covert operation can take years to pull together. Yet in the 15 months from May 2011 to July 2012, the Quds Force and Hizballah attempted 20 attacks, by the count of Matthew Levitt, a former State Department counterterrorism official. "Hizballah and the Quds Force traded speed for tradecraft and reaped what they sowed," Levitt writes in a January report for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "Quds Force planners were stretched thin by the rapid tempo of their new attack plan, and were forced to throw together random teams of operatives who had not trained together."

The decline in quality was so striking it initially inspired disbelief. Recall the preposterous-sounding plot weaving together a former used-car salesman, Mexico's Zetas drug gang and a bank transfer from a Revolutionary Guard account to assassinate Saudi Arabia's ambassador — by bombing a Washington restaurant? A year on it looks like the new normal. In Bangkok last month, an Iranian agent entered a courtroom in a wheelchair, having accidentally blown his legs off while fleeing police. A January alert issued by Turkish intelligence was light on specifics but quite certain the Quds operatives would be staying in five-star hotels.

"There's a number of reasons that Iranian intelligence has suffered," says Meir Javedanfar, an Iranian-born analyst who lectures at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel. "No. 1," he says, "is the 2009 uprisings in Iran." The street protests over a fraudulent election undermined the perceived legitimacy of the state among people who once would work for it, including in its secret services. “People less and less see it as a nationalist endeavor and more as a Khamenei-related project to strengthen himself,” Javedanfar says, referring to Iran’s Supreme Leader Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, who by some published accounts personally authorizes all overseas attacks.

Hard-liners further aggravated the situation by purging competent reformists from both the secret services and from Iran’s embassies — crucial to a force expected to work undetected abroad. “Basically the Quds Force doesn’t cooperate with the Foreign Ministry, and the Foreign Ministry isn’t what it used to be either,” says Javedanfar. Under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, 42% of ministry employees have only high school degrees. “The regime is a bigger threat to itself than Israel,” he says.

Karl Vick has been TIME's Jerusalem bureau chief since 2010, covering Israel,the Palestine territories and nearby sovereignties. He worked 16 years at the Washington Post in Nairobi, Istanbul, Baghdad, Los Angeles and Rockville, MD.

Article 5.

YaleGlobal

Is the US Ready To Be Number Two?

Kishore Mahbubani

11 February 2013 -- SINGAPORE: Long before anyone did, former US president Bill Clinton saw that America would have to prepare for the time

when it would no longer be the number one power in the world. In his 2003 Yale University address on "Global Challenges," he said:

> If you believe that maintaining power and control and absolute freedom of movement and sovereignty is important to your country's future, there's nothing inconsistent in that [the US continuing to behaving unilaterally]. [The US is] the biggest, most powerful country in the world now. . . . But if you believe that we should be trying to create a world with rules and partnerships and habits of behavior that we would like to live in when we're no longer the military political economic superpower in the world, then you wouldn't do that. It just depends on what you believe.

Long before 2003, Clinton wanted to begin preparing Americans for this new world. "Clinton believed […] what we had in the wake of the cold war was a multilateral moment – an opportunity to shape the world through our active leadership of the institutions Clinton admired and [Charles] Krauthammer disdained," writes Strobe Talbott, former deputy secretary of state in his book The Great Experiment: The Story of Ancient Empires, Modern States, and the Quest for a Global Nation. "But Clinton kept that belief largely to himself while he was in office…. political instincts told him it would be inviting trouble to suggest that the sun would someday set on American preeminence." Sadly, few Americans have heeded Clinton's wisdom. Few dare to mention that America could well be number two. I discovered this when I chaired a panel on "the future of American power" at the 2012 World Economic Forum in Davos. After citing projections that America would have the second largest economy in just a few years, I asked the American panelists – two senators, a congresswoman and a former deputy national security advisor – whether Americans are ready to become number two. To my shock, none could acknowledge publically this possibility.

America may well become number two faster than anyone has anticipated. According to the most recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) projections, China will have larger share of global GDP than the United States by 2017. In 1980, in PPP terms, the US share of the global economy was 25 percent, while China's was 2.2 percent. By 2017, the US share will decline to 17.9 percent, and China's will rise to 18.3 percent. Even if

America becomes number two, we will still have a better world. In many ways, the world is "converging" to American values and standards, as I explain in The Great Convergence. The global middle class is booming, interstate war is waning, and never before have people traveled and communicated across the world so easily. These changes are creating common values and norms across the world. Education and scientific reasoning, for example, are enabling people the world over to speak with a common language.   However, while humanity is well on its way to combating absolute poverty and interstate warfare, other problems are surfacing. Preventing and curtailing transnational issues like climate change, human and drug trafficking, and financial crises require cooperation among nation states, yet this is not happening. A simple analogy illustrates this. Before the era of modern globalization, humankind was like a flotilla of more than 100 separate boats in their separate countries. The world needed a set of rules then to ensure that the many boats did not collide and facilitate their cooperation on the high seas if they chose to do so. The 1945 rules-based order strived to do this, and despite some obvious failures, it succeeded in producing a relatively stable global order for more than 50 years.   Today, the 7 billion people who inhabit planet earth no longer live in more than 100 separate boats. Instead, they live in 193 separate cabins on the same boat. But this boat has a problem. It has 193 captains and crews, each claiming exclusive responsibility for one cabin. No captain or crew cares for the boat as a whole. The world is now sailing into increasingly turbulent waters with no captain or crew at the helm.   The Great Convergence echoes the themes of Clinton's 2003 Yale speech. It's in the interest of all – particularly great powers – to strengthen institutions of global governance so that we're not sailing blindly into choppy waters without a captain. The National Intelligence Council recently projected that in 2030 Asia would overtake the Western world economically, technologically and militarily. When China becomes a world superpower in a matter of decades, the United States and Europe will want to ensure that China plays by the rules.

But in order to make international organizations like the United Nations, the IMF and the World Bank more credible and effective, they must undergo serious reform. It is manifestly absurd that the West makes up 12 percent of the world's population but takes up 60 percent of UN Security Council permanent seats. It's nonsensical that the head of the IMF is always a European and the head of the World Bank is always an American as the West's share of global GDP diminishes every year. This concentration of clout in the hands of a relative few has grave implications for these institutions' effectiveness and independence, making them instruments of the West. No other organization, not even huge global NGOs like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation or the Clinton Foundation, has the scope and legitimacy that the UN currently enjoys. For example, the United States for years has been trying to pressure China to take a more proactive role in fighting climate change. Predictably, China has resisted these pressures because they saw them as a clever yet transparent American ruse to curtail Chinese economic growth. Only when the United Nations Development Programme raised the issue with China did the Chinese government take heed, as the UNDP is seen as a neutral party in China. The UN and its many agencies may soon lose invaluable credibility if the West insists on monopolizing its power over these institutions.

Any reform of the UN should take into account three principles: democracy, recognition of power balances and the rule of law. Institutions of global governance can be made more democratic by ensuring that their leadership accurately reflects the composition of world's population. At the same time, we must also take into account geopolitical relationships among emerging and middle powers. Finally, the rule of law is essential to the mediation and resolution of thorny international issues and to governing the conduct of states on the international stage so as to prevent escalation of conflict.

In this rapidly changing world, it's a mistake to allow institutions of global governance to stay as they are. The 1945 rules-based order is no longer appropriate for 21st century circumstances. Global leaders must better prepare us for the challenges to come and equip our international organizations to deal with them. Leaders must find the courage to continue advocating for stronger multilateral cooperation. It is time for our captains and crews to emerge from their cabins and start steering the boat.

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Article 6.

Foreign affairs

Pyongyang's Nuclear Logic

Jennifer Lind, Keir A. Lieber, and Daryl G. Press

February 14, 2013 -- In his State of the Union address, U.S. President Barack Obama described North Korea's recent nuclear test as a provocation that required a firm response. The intended audience for that provocation, though, is up for debate. Some commentators have posited that the test was a signal aimed at China, designed to demonstrate North Korea's independence from its great-power patron. Others think that Kim Jong-un was sending a message to the newly elected president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye. Still other North Korea experts have suggested that the test was actually meant for domestic consumption, to lift the sagging morale of a deprived public or for the regime to curry favor with the military. The intended North Korean signal is being analyzed and debated by U.S. government officials, who hold views across the spectrum.

A much simpler explanation exists. Pyongyang tested a nuclear device for the same reason it has been testing long-range missile designs: to see what works. In truth, the effort was less a signal than an attempt to master the technical capabilities that are vital to its nuclear deterrent.

This rationale should come as no surprise to those steeped in Cold War history. Between 1945 and 1992, the United States conducted 1,054 nuclear tests and fired an untold number of missiles. If the goal had merely been to show the Soviets that the United States meant business, testing nearly twice a month throughout the entire Cold War would have been overkill. In fact, Operation Sandstone -- a series of three tests at Enewetak Atoll in 1948 -- was not intended to warn off the Soviets as tensions rose over Berlin. Nor was the series of 48 underground tests launched in the summer of 1964 designed to impress the newly installed premier, Leonid Brezhnev. And the United States would not have conducted a dozen atomic blasts at its Nevada test site in the first half of 1977 -- including the Cove, Dofino, Marsilly, Bulkhead, Crewline, Forefoot, Carnelian, Strake, Flotost, Gruyere, Scantling, and Scupper detonations -- just because new President Jimmy Carter was vulnerable to right-wing criticism.

The United States did what it did because it needed its ultimate deterrent to actually work, and because the technical requirements of the nuclear mission continually changed. The ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were evidence enough that the United States could destroy cities, but deterring the Soviet Union was a far greater challenge. If the Soviets had invaded Western Europe, for example, U.S. bombers would have had to penetrate alerted Soviet air defenses, identify Soviet ground forces and industrial centers, and attack them. Accordingly, U.S. bombers had to be highly maneuverable and able to carry multiple weapons, so the bombs themselves had to be lighter and smaller than the ones the United States used against Japan. The Soviets put another wrinkle in Washington's plans when they began to deploy large numbers of their own nuclear weapons. The United States needed to find a way to potentially destroy the Soviet arsenal on the ground. Eliminating those targets -- numerous and often hardened -- required even greater numbers of bombs, even lighter designs, and more accurate delivery systems. So the United States updated its designs and tested. And tested. And tested again.

Like the United States during the Cold War, North Korea has apparently decided that nuclear weapons are central to its national security strategy. With few friends, its conventional military forces outgunned, an economy in tatters, and facing off against a superpower prone to deposing dictatorships across the globe, the Kim regime set about building an operational nuclear arsenal. And just as NATO planned to thwart a Soviet invasion by striking targets in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, North Korea presumably plans to defend itself, should war erupt on the peninsula, by threatening U.S. regional allies and targets in the United States.

North Korea's mission requires small, lightweight warheads, and missiles that work -- and the only way to know that they work is to test them. So far, the weapons have proved unspectacular. The country's first nuclear test, conducted in 2006, was an embarrassment. Pyongyang had told the Chinese that the device would generate four kilotons of explosive power, but it ended up producing less than one. The second test in 2009 fared slightly better, producing between one and eight kilotons, although it is not known what size of a blast the North Koreans had sought. Moreover, Pyongyang has much more work to do before it can boast weapons that will actually fit on its missiles (which have been, themselves, a series of humiliating failures).

Observers in the West who presume that North Korea's behavior must be about signaling should remember NATO and the United States' own experience during the Cold War. The United States understood then that the ability to conduct nuclear operations was the very foundation of a credible deterrence strategy. Today, a sound strategy for dealing with North Korea should not ascribe ulterior motives to acts that the United States once considered rational and routine.

The view that nuclear weapons are merely political instruments -- suitable for sending signals, but not waging wars -- is now so common in Washington, London, and Berlin that it is hard to find anyone who disagrees. Yet those comforting assumptions are not shared by leaders everywhere. Beyond North Korea, Russia is cutting down its arsenal, modernizing the nuclear forces it plans to keep, and increasing its reliance on nuclear weapons in national defense strategy. China is slowly expanding its own arsenal, while substantially improving its weapons. And Iran seems so committed to going nuclear that it has been ready to endure crippling sanctions and risk foreign attack.

It is unfortunate that U.S. policymakers are so convinced of nuclear obsolescence that they have difficulty understanding the motivations of potential adversaries. It would be tragic, however, if their questionable assumptions prevent them from recognizing the deterrence problems that lie ahead and the grave difficulties that will be posed by adversaries, such as North Korea, that still cling to nuclear weapons.

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Article 7.

Foreign Policy in Focus (FPIF)

The Depths of Malaise in Palestine

Daniel DePetris

February 12, 2013 -- When talking about peace in Israel-Palestine, it is easy to narrow the conversation to the leaders who are responsible for making it. Over the past few years, there have been numerous profiles in newspapers and profiles in magazines attempting to document the two men who are supposed to make the effort—Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas.

Delving into the lives and minds of world leaders is an undoubtedly helpful, exciting, and informative way to find answers, but a conflict as multifaceted and complicated as the Israeli-Palestinian dispute cannot be fully explained without taking into account the opinions of the ordinary people who live the reality every single day. Millions of Israelis and Palestinians on both sides of the green line have had their voices drowned out by the very politicians, lawmakers, and personalities who purport to represent them.

The result is a host of unanswered questions. What does the average Israeli or Palestinian think about the chances for a lasting and comprehensive peace agreement? What types of concessions need to be given for a deal to be struck? Do Israelis have the political courage to sacrifice on settlements and Jerusalem so the conflict can finally be resolved? Can the Palestinians negotiate in good faith?

Luckily, polling organizations in Israel and Palestine have spent years trying to answer these very questions, often working together and sharing their resources during the hunt.

Two of the latest polls, one from the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC) and the other from the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR), are particularly telling. Unlike other surveys that confirm what most in the international community already think, the results of these polls are unprecedented, revealing a stark and disturbing malaise in the Palestinian territories.

The message is clear: frustration with the conflict is at a high point, the two-state solution is steadily losing credibility in the eyes of the people, and ordinary citizens in the Holy Land are starting to wonder whether a settlement can be achieved without another round of bloodshed.

Oslo Fatigue

When asked by the PSPSR whether Mahmoud Abbas's policy of peace talks or armed resistance by Hamas is the best way to achieve a Palestinian state, an alarming 60 percent of Palestinians surveyed threw in their lot with armed resistance (compared to 28 percent who favored negotiations). With the eight-day Israel-Hamas war having ended with a ceasefire that many view as a victory for the Islamist group, Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh finds his popularity having soared. Forty-eight percent of Palestinians say that they would rather pick Haniyeh as Palestine's next president instead of Abbas, who has struggled to secure the freedom of movement and self-determination that so many Palestinians once expected from his government.

The JMCC issued similar findings. By far the most disturbing figure in the poll is the exponential rise in support among the Palestinian public for armed operations against Israel—50.9 percent now view attacking Israeli positions in the current climate as a credible way to express their grievances and pressure the Israeli government to compromise. This is a 20-percent increase from the previous year.

The numbers can perhaps best be summarized by Ali Najjar, an 18-year-old Palestinian who lives in a refugee camp. "In my view," he said, "what was taken by force will only be returned by force. Twenty years after Oslo, we haven't gained one inch of Palestine."

Many young Palestinians agree. Indeed, the words summarize the how dire the situation has become for an entire generation of Palestinians, most of whom are too young to remember the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Most have not seen any benefit from peace agreements or negotiations, and all of them have grown tired of the settlement construction in the West Bank, the killing of Palestinian civilians, and the internal fighting among Palestinian politicians that never seems to dissipate.

The Corrosive Status Quo

One cannot blame Palestinian civilians for feeling this way. The previous year was a terrible one for Abbas and his government. Settlement tenders and approvals in the West Bank rose to such an extent that the anti-settlement organization Peace Now named 2012 "the year of the settlement," with the Ministry of Defense authorizing an additional 6,000 housing units and Netanyahu pushing for the construction of 11,000 homes in the month of December alone.

The lack of economic support from donor nations and the restrictions that impede the Palestinian economy from functioning at anywhere near its full potential have also made for a deadly cocktail for Abbas' Palestinian Authority. Combined with the occasional holding of Palestinian tax revenue by the Israelis, the PA is finding it incredibly difficult to pay the tens of thousands of employees on its payroll.

The recent Israeli parliamentary elections perhaps best illustrate where the Palestinian issue is today: at the bottom of the barrel. Israeli politicians chose to focus their campaigning on social and economic issues, from the price of housing and cost of living to whether religious students should be drafted into the Israeli military like everyone else. The only Israeli candidate who spoke about the need to reengage the Palestinians in peace talks was the former foreign minister Tzipi Livni, whose party failed to reach double-digits in the incoming parliament.

The overall message is depressingly familiar to Palestinians: creating a Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem is simply not on the list of priorities for Israel at the current time. And the Palestinian Authority is proving itself to be an increasingly fragile governing body without the constant generosity of foreign countries; it's an institution that cannot adequately care for its people, let alone its employees who go months without pay. The average Palestinian is losing hope that peace is possible in his or her lifetime. Palestinian leaders may speak of ending the occupation, but for those who live under it, the occupation is so ingrained that escaping it has become a violation of the normal.

Some may take the more militant attitudes of Palestinians as confirmation that Israel does not have a partner for peace. Yet those attitudes can also be viewed differently: without a renewed effort at peacemaking, however frustrating and difficult it will be, the conflict will reach a nadir where searching for a peace partner will be irrelevant.

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rticle 1.

The Washington Post

In State of the Union address, Obama lays out his second-term agenda

Editorial

February 13, 2013 -- TWO DOMESTIC concerns towered above all others as President Obama addressed a joint session of Congress on Tuesday night on the state of the union. One was stubbornly slow economic growth. The other was the long-term threat to prosperity posed by the structural mismatch between the federal government's projected revenue and its spending commitments. A successful second term for Mr. Obama will require both credible proposals for overcoming those related challenges and the determination to carry them through.

The president addressed the deficit and debt first, and at some length. This was fitting, giving that the most pressing piece of business facing Washington is what to do about the impending $85 billion across-the-board spending cut. He was forthright

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in declaring that this so-called sequester threatens the military as well as domestic programs. But his plan to avoid it basically repeated the offer of a "balanced approach" — unspecified tax hikes and spending cuts — which Republicans have already rejected.

Somewhat more substantively, he called for a larger deficit-reduction deal built around loophole-closing tax reform and what he called "modest" reforms to Medicare and entitlements. In an apparent effort to rally Democrats to this cause, he called on "those of us who care deeply about programs like Medicare" to "embrace" reform.

Yet in promising the same amount of Medicare savings as the Simpson-Bowles commision proposed, Mr. Obama did not mention that this would be a mere $341 billion over 10 years. All told, he envisions shaving an additional $1.5 trillion off projected deficits over 10 years, which would leave the national debt at a historically aberrant 70-odd percent of gross domestic product. In short, he declined to push back against the mind-set within his party that considers acceptable "stabilizing" the debt at this level by the time Mr. Obama's second term ends. At best, that would buy a respite of a few years before the debt resumed its upward climb.

As for raising the economy's growth potential, the president was more persuasive. His emphasis on reforming the tangled and counterproductive corporate tax code was especially welcome, and relatively likely to draw GOP support. He offered several promising ideas on education, including a promise of "high-quality preschool" for all children, though how that would square with his promise not to increase the deficit by a single dime went unexplained. He sounded a ringing call for greater federal attention to college cost containment. "Taxpayers can't keep on subsidizing" spiraling tuition, he said, candidly and correctly.

As European trading partners had hoped, the president endorsed negotiations for a transatlantic free-trade zone, which would help America's export industries and the jobs that depend on them. Coupled with an agreement that Obama is promoting for the Pacific region, the proposal has the potential to make his second term fruitful for global trade. He also suggested raising the federal minimum wage, from $7.25 per hour to $9 — although the precise amount is less important, in our view, than the president's call for annual cost-of-living adjustments.

In keeping with Mr. Obama's theme of nation-building at home, foreign policy played a secondary role in his speech. He promised to bring home half of the remaining U.S. troops in Afghanistan within the next year. But officials said the withdrawal would be weighted toward year's end, leaving most of the troops to partner with Afghan troops for much of this year. The president said the United States would support democratic transitions in the Middle East, "keep the pressure on [the] Syrian regime" and "do what is necessary to prevent" Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon — but he offered no specifics.

Mr. Obama pressed his case for reform of immigration laws and for action to slow global warming — and, in especially moving terms, tougher gun laws. In each case, there may be measures he can take through executive action, but new laws will be needed for substantial progress.

Mr. Obama was right when he pointed to the survivors and grieving relatives of gun violence victims and insisted, "They deserve a vote."

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

The world is no longer America's problem

Aaron David Miller

February 13, 2013 -- If you want to know what an American president's foreign policy is likely to be, particularly in a second term, don't listen to his State of the Union speech. You'd probably have more luck playing with Tarot cards, or reading tea leaves or goat entrails. But not this year. Barack Obama's fourth such address left a trail of foreign-policy cookie crumbs that lead directly to some pretty clear, if hardly surprising or revolutionary, conclusions. His first term contained no spectacular successes (save killing Osama bin Laden), but no spectacular failures either. And more than likely, that's what the president will settle for in a second, even as the Arab world burns and rogues like Iran and North Korea brandish new weapons. He's nothing if not a cautious man.

Behold: I am the Extricator in Chief

Afghanistan -- the "good war" -- has been pretty much MIA in Obama's speeches since he became president. He's alternated between spending a few words on the mission there (2009) or a paragraph (2010, 2011, 2012). If his words have been brief, the message has been stunningly clear: It's about the leaving. And tonight was no exception. Not more than two minutes in, the president spoke about America's men and women coming home from Afghanistan.

Obama's signature is indeed that of the extricator. And he broke the code early (the 2009 surge was designed politically to get in so that he could get out with a clearer conscience). He is the president who has wound down the longest and among the most profitless wars in American history, where victory was never defined by whether we can win, but by when can we leave. It is his legacy, and one about which he has reason to be proud. Obama has left himself and his military commanders plenty of discretion about the pace of extrication. But that's fine with the president so long as they're heading for the exits.

Not the Destroyer and Rebuilder of Worlds

Surprise, surprise: There was scant mention of Syria in the president's speech -- just one throwaway line about supporting Syria's opposition. Obama did not disengage from Iraq and Afghanistan only to plunge America into new black holes in the Middle East.

Obama isn't worried about boots on the ground in Syria. That was never on the table. Instead the question is this: Given the uncertainty about the end state in Syria and the risks of providing serious weapons to the rebels (and a no-fly zone) that might alter the arc of the fight against the regime, the president saw and continues to see no purpose in America providing arms of marginal utility. That course would either expose him to be truly weak and ineffectual or lead to calls to do more. So he's going to provide non-lethal support and is apparently prepared to take the hits from critics who see the president's policy as passive, cruel, and unforgiving, particularly now that we know that members of his own cabinet clearly wanted to do more. The Iranian nuclear issue, the other potential tar baby in the SOTU, followed a pretty predictable rising arc of concern in the list of presidential foreign-policy worries. In 2009, in Obama's address to a joint session of Congress (a speech some regard as a SOTU), Iran wasn't even mentioned. In the 2010 SOTU, Obama threatened that if Iran ignored its international obligations, there would be consequences; in 2011, he did the same; and in 2012, he made it clear that he would prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon and take no option off the table. Obama repeated half of what he said in 2012 about preventing Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, but instead of saying all options were on the table, he spoke of the importance of diplomacy. I suspect he'll go to extreme lengths to avoid war, and won't greenlight an Israeli attack either until the arc of diplomacy has run its course. And then Obama would likely act only if the mullahs push the envelope by accelerating their uranium enrichment program and other military aspects of the nuclear enterprise.

Seizing the Nuclear High Road with Little to Lose

Even as he confronts a real bomb in North Korea (very bad options there) and a potential one in Iran (bad options there too), Obama is trying to make good on a longstanding commitment to reduce America's own nuclear arsenal. Backed by the military chiefs and likely by the public too (getting rid of nukes equals saving money), but opposed by Republicans in Congress, Obama will try to work around the political obstacles by seeking a deal with yes ... you got it ... his old friend Vlad Putin. It's worth a try. If Putin balks or Republicans get in the way, the president can always advocate unilateral cuts -- not something he wants to do. But if he can't have his way on nukes, he can always blame it on the Russians and the Republicans with little to lose. The road to getting rid of nukes is a long one. Let the next guy (or gal) worry about it.

A Little Leg on Palestine?

Obama hasn't mentioned the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a SOTU speech since 2009. And that's no coincidence. His own poorly thought-through initial effort crashed and burned, leaving the president pretty frustrated and annoyed with both

Israelis and Palestinians, particularly Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

But hey, that was then. A second-term president has committed himself early in 2013 to a trip to Israel and has an Energizer bunny in Secretary of State John Kerry, who wants to do the right thing and keep the two-state solution alive. Obama clearly kept his distance from the issue again on Tuesday night. He spoke of standing with Israel to pursue peace, but didn't mention Palestinians or the peace process. He mentioned his own trip to the Middle East, but missed an opportunity to give what might be a trip to the region by his new secretary of state higher profile. It's just as well. The paradox of the Israeli-Palestinian issue is that it's too complicated to implement right now and too important to abandon. It's in this space that Obama will be forced to operate. And while the odds of success are low, Obama will be tempted in his final term to do something bold, perhaps laying out a U.S. plan of parameters on the key final-status issues.

It's the Middle Class, Not the Middle East

Spoiler alert: Barack Obama might still be a consequential foreign-policy president if he's lucky, willful, and skillful. But it's his domestic legacy that will make or break his presidency. Health care -- his signature legacy issue -- will look much better if the economy improves, driven by a revived housing market and rising employment, and of course if some broader deal can be struck on entitlements and taxes. Immigration reform and gun-control legislation driven by a functional bipartisanship would cement that legacy. He'd be an historic rather than a great president.

Two clocks tick down in a president's second term: the drive for legacy and the reality of lame duckery. Obama's political capital will diminish quickly. Where, how, and on what he wants to spend it is critical. The Middle East is violent and volatile and may yet suck him in, but if he can avoid it, he'll try. This was a State of the Union address that stressed fixing America's broken house, not chasing around the world trying to fix everyone else's. The future of America isn't Cairo or Damascus; it's Chicago and Detroit.

Aaron David Miller is a distinguished scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Article 3.

Agence Global

Can the United States Strike a Deal with Iran?

Patrick Seale

12 Feb 2013 -- Negotiations with Iran are once more on the international agenda. After an eight-month break, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Germany -- the so-called P5+1 -- are due to hold a meeting with Iran on 25 February in Kazakhstan. What are the prospects of success? In a nutshell, that would seem to depend more on the climate in Washington than in Tehran. Iran is gesturing that it wants to negotiate, but Washington has not yet signalled any greater flexibility than in the past.

In a major speech in Tehran last Sunday, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad addressed the United States: "Take your guns out of the face of the Iranian nation and I myself will negotiate with you," he declared. Meanwhile, the Iranian ambassador to Paris told French officials that, provided a work plan was agreed, Iran was ready to allow inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to visit Parchin, a military facility where Iran is suspected of having done work on atomic weapons. Ahmadinejad himself has said repeatedly that Iran was ready to stop enriching uranium to 20% if the international community agreed to supply it instead to the Tehran research reactor for the production of isotopes needed to treat cancer patients.

The only recent encouraging word from the United States was a hint by Vice-President Joe Biden at last week’s Munich security conference that the time may have come for bilateral U.S.-Iranian talks. Iran’s Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Salehi responded positively to Biden’s offer, although he added that Iran would look for evidence that Biden’s offer was ‘authentic' and not ‘devious’.

The road to a U.S.-Iranian agreement is littered with obstacles -- grave mutual distrust being one of them. There is little optimism among experts that a breakthrough is imminent. For one thing, Iran is almost certain to want to defer any major strategic decision until a new President is elected next June to replace the sharp-tongued Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. To strike a deal with Iran, the United States would also need to assure its Arab allies in the Gulf that they would not fall under Iranian hegemony or lose American protection. Guarantees would no doubt have to be given.

Israel, America’s close ally, poses a more substantial obstacle. It is totally opposed to any deal which would allow Iran to enrich uranium, even at the low level of 3.5%. Wanting no challenge to its own formidable nuclear arsenal, Israel’s long-standing aim has been to halt Iran’s nuclear programme altogether. To this end it has assassinated several Iranian nuclear scientists and joined the United States in waging cyber warfare against Iranian nuclear facilities. Its belligerent prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, has for years been pressing Obama to destroy Iran's nuclear programme and -- better still -- bring down the Islamic regime altogether.

Faced with these obstacles, it is clear that any U.S. deal with Iran would require careful preparation. Obama would need to mobilize strong domestic support if he is to confront America's vast array of pro-Israeli forces. They include Congressmen eager to defend Israeli interests at all costs (as was vividly illustrated by the recent Chuck Hagel confirmation hearings), powerful lobbies such as AIPAC, media barons, high-profile Jewish financiers like Sheldon Adelson, a phalanx of neo-con strategists in right-wing think tanks, influential pro-Israelis within the Administration, and many, many others. The cost in political capital of challenging them could be very substantial. Nevertheless, elected for a second term, he now has greater freedom and authority than before.

Obama is due to visit Israel on March 20-21, something he did not do in his first term. This visit will be the first foreign trip of his second term -- in itself a sign of its importance. Although the White House is anxious to play down suggestions that he will announce a major initiative, either on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or on Iran, there are issues he cannot avoid. He may, however, choose to raise them in private talks with Israeli leaders rather than in public. His message is expected to be twofold: Israel should not delay in granting statehood to the Palestinians, however painful that choice may be, and it should be careful not to make an eternal enemy of Iran. Both conflicts have the potential to isolate Israel internationally and threaten its long-term interests, if not its actual existence.

In his first term of office, Obama resisted Netanyahu's pressure to wage war on Iran. This was no more than a semi-success, however, since he managed to blunt Netanyahu's belligerence only by imposing on Iran a raft of sanctions of unprecedented severity. They have halved Iran's oil exports, caused its currency to plummet and inflation to gallop, severed its relations with the world's banks and inflicted severe hardship on its population.

The key question today is this: What are Obama's intentions? Is he seeking to bring down Iran's Islamic regime, as Israel would like, or is he simply seeking to limit its nuclear ambitions? If 'regime change' is his aim then sanctions will have to be tightened even further and extended indefinitely. But if Obama's aim is to strike a deal with Iran over its nuclear programme then he must give it at least some of what it wants: such as sanctions relief; acceptance of its right under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to enrich uranium to a low level for peaceful purposes; recognition of its security interests, of the legitimacy of its Islamic regime born out of the 1979 revolution, and of its place in the region as a major power.

The P5+1, which are due to meet Iran later this month, remain so divided that they are unlikely to improve substantially on their previous miserly offer, which was to provide Iran with some airplane spare parts if it gave up uranium enrichment to 20% -- its trump card. It is the paralysis of Iran's dealings with the P5+1 that has lent credence to the idea that the best hope of a breakthrough may lie in bilateral U.S.-Iranian talks -- perhaps even a summit meeting between President Obama and Ayatollah Khomeini.

For such a summit to be successful the United States would have to change its approach. Iran's supreme leader has made clear that Iran will not negotiate under threat of attack. There would have to be give and take. Above all, Iran wants to be treated with respect. This is the challenge facing Obama.

It is worth remembering that there is as yet no evidence whatsoever that Iran has decided to build nuclear weapons. Nor has it developed a reliable delivery system. Instead, it has focussed its efforts on medium-range missiles unable to reach Israel. It has no second strike capability. As President Ahmadinejad stressed during his visit to Cairo last week, Iran has no intention of attacking Israel. Its posture is purely defensive.

If Obama were to act with boldness and vision, he could defuse a nagging problem which has plagued the region for years. It is surely time for the United States to draw Iran into the regional community of nations and put an end to 34 years of unremitting hostility.

Patrick Seale is a leading British writer on the Middle East. His latest book is The Struggle for Arab Independence: Riad el-Solh and the Makers of the Modern Middle East (Cambridge University Press).

Article 4.

The Washington Post

What path now for Syria?

David Ignatius

February 12, 2013 -- Syrian opposition fighters appear to be making significant gains on the battlefield this week, following an offer by their top political leader for negotiations with the regime of President Bashar al-Assad.

This military and diplomatic news may appear positive. But Syrian sources caution that the battlefield advances may accelerate movement toward a breakup of the country, as Alawite supporters of the regime retreat to their ancestral homeland in the northwestern region around Latakia. And there's no sign that either Assad or his Russian patrons are paying any more than lip service to a political settlement.

One potential game-changer is a request for U.S. help in training elite rebel units, which has been drafted by Brig. Gen. Salim Idriss, the new commander of the opposition Free Syrian Army. In a letter dated Feb. 4, he seeks U.S. assistance in "training for: (1) special operations; (2) international humanitarian law; and (3) . . . in chemical weapons security."

Idriss requested various supplies for these elite units, including: "(1) combat armor; (2) night vision goggles; (3) hand held monocular and longer range spotting equipment; (4) strategic communications; (5) winterization packs; and (6) tactical communications."

This request for assistance was made just after the Assad regime had rebuffed an offer by Sheik Ahmad Moaz al-Khatib, the head of a new opposition coalition, to negotiate with government representatives.

The rebels' recent military successes have come mostly in northern Syria; the attacks were made by different battalions that appear to operate with little central command and control. The gains include:

●The al-Jarrah air base, about 30 miles east of Aleppo, which appears to have been overrun by fighters from Ahrar al-Sham, a battalion based in Idlib. Videos posted Tuesday by the rebels showed them walking past derelict Syrian warplanes and inside a fortified hangar containing what appeared to be two Czech-built ground assault planes. On camera, the rebels displayed dozens of bombs racked in a warehouse, and other ammunition and spoils of war.

●The Thawra hydroelectric dam on the Euphrates, which is one of Syria's biggest power-generating facilities. Rebel sources said the Syrian army gave up the strategic dam after army positions there were overrun. The rebels negotiated a surrender with regime loyalists who remained. These sources said the dam continues to operate and provide power — a positive sign for those who worry that Syria's infrastructure would collapse if the rebels took over.

●The Aleppo International Airport, southeast of the city, is close to falling. Free Syrian Army sources said Tuesday that their fighters, including allies in the extremist al-Nusra Front, had captured an access point near the airport known as "Liwa 80." Syrian sources said rebels there had seized large amounts of ammunition, including some shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles.

●Damascus and its suburbs, where the rebels are tightening their squeeze on access points to the capital. Syrian sources said fighters are converging on Damascus from different parts of the country, expecting a decisive battle there soon. "Regime forces are suffering from very low morale, whereas FSA soldiers have been encouraged by recent positive developments," asserts one FSA report from Damascus.

The al-Nusra Front has been a catalyst and beneficiary of the rebels' success. According to Syrian sources, al-Nusra is gaining strength in Homs, a city in central Syria where the group was never strong. One Syrian source told the State Department: "They have money, they are helping people with everything including daily living supplies. I heard that some fighters are leaving their [former] brigades and joining [Al-Nusra], some of them selling their weapons to feed their families."

One Syrian who works closely with the Free Syrian Army explained how creating an elite commando force could help check Syria's drift toward becoming a failed state: "We still believe FSA on the ground is still needed badly to tip the power and support other parallel solutions, including the political one. But FSA [has] become a jungle. . . . My recommendation is . . . to start working on elite [forces that can] . . . initiate key attacks plus help as a buffer from potential warlords and fights among fragmented FSA factions. Plus, this unit can handle other key tasks, like securing chemical weapons."

This Syrian strategist argues in another memo that the rebels must "speak to the silent majority, many who did not care about the revolution, and they want their life back." He said that such a negotiated settlement requires more pressure on the United States, Russia and the United Nations "to find a way out of the deadlock."

Article 5.

Foreign Policy

Why Does Europe Pretend Hezbollah Has a Good Side?

Matthew Levitt

February 12, 2013 -- Bulgaria's interior minister announced on Feb. 5 the result of his country's investigation into the July 2012 bombing of a bus filled with Israeli tourists in the city of Burgas, which killed five Israelis and the vehicle's Bulgarian driver. Two of the individuals who carried out the terrorist attack, he said, "belonged to the military formation of Hezbollah."

It was not by chance that his statement fingered only the military wing of Hezbollah, not the group as a whole. Within the European Union, the findings of the Bulgarian investigation have kicked off a firestorm over whether to add the Lebanese militant organization -- in whole, or perhaps just its military or terrorist wings -- to the EU's list of banned terrorist groups. But are there in fact distinct wings within the self-styled "Party of God"?

Hezbollah is many things. It is one of the dominant political parties in Lebanon, as well as a social and religious movement catering first and foremost -- though not exclusively -- to Lebanon's Shiite community. Hezbollah is also Lebanon's largest militia, the only one to keep its weapons and rebrand its armed elements as an "Islamic resistance" in response to the terms of the 1989 Taif Accord, which ended the Lebanese Civil War.

While the group's various elements are intended to complement one another, the reality is often messier. In part, that has to do with compartmentalization of Hezbollah's covert activities. It is also, however, a result of the group's multiple identities -- Lebanese, pan-Shiite, pro-Iranian -- and the group's multiple and sometimes competing goals tied to these different identities.

Hezbollah's ideological commitment to Iranian Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolutionary doctrine of velayat-e faqih (guardianship of the jurist), which holds that a Shiite Islamic cleric should serve as the supreme head of government, is a key source of conflict. The group is thus simultaneously committed to the decrees of Iranian clerics, the Lebanese state, its sectarian Shiite community within Lebanon, and fellow Shiites abroad.

The consequences of these competing ideological drivers was clear in July 2006, when Hezbollah dragged Israel and Lebanon into a war neither state wanted by crossing the U.N.-demarcated border between the two countries, killing three Israeli soldiers, and kidnapping two more in an ambush. They came to the fore again two years later, when Hezbollah took over West Beirut by force of arms, turning its weapons of "resistance" against fellow Lebanese citizens. When the chips are down, Hezbollah's commitment to Iran trumps its identity as a Lebanese political movement.

The ties that bind Hezbollah's political leadership with its international illicit activities are also unmistakable. According to a CIA document, even before Hassan Nasrallah rose to the position of secretary-general in 1992, he was "directly involved in many Hizballah terrorist operations, including hostage taking, airline hijackings, and attacks against Lebanese rivals."

Time and again, Hezbollah's political personalities have been tied to the group's terrorist and criminal activities. Consider a major case in the United States: In 2008, while Hezbollah operative Ali Karaki was planning a Hezbollah attack in Azerbaijan's capital, Baku, his brother, Hasan Antar Karaki, was helping lead a broad criminal conspiracy to sell counterfeit and stolen currency in Philadelphia. Luckily, Hasan Antar Karaki sold his wares to an undercover FBI informant posing as a member of the Philadelphia criminal underworld. Hasan Antar Karaki proved to be a major figure in Hezbollah's forgery operations, and he provided an FBI source with fraudulent British and Canadian passports.

Meanwhile, in meetings in Lebanon and the United States, Hasan Antar Karaki's associate, Hassan Hodroj, a Hezbollah spokesman and the head of its Palestinian issues portfolio within the group's political echelon, sought to procure a long list of sophisticated weapons in a black-market scheme involving Hezbollah operatives across the globe. According to court documents, Hodroj wanted "heavy machinery" for the "fight against Jews and to protect Lebanon." But move forward with caution, Hodroj counseled an undercover FBI source, because someone in the United States could "go to jail for 100 years" if caught dealing with Hezbollah.

In light of cases like this one, in which people overtly affiliated with Hezbollah's political activities are engaged in criminal and terrorist activities, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate Hezbollah's overt activities from its covert behavior. "Little is known about [the Hezbollah military wing's] internal command hierarchy," a Western government report noted in 2012, "due to its highly secretive nature and use of sophisticated protective measures."

The structure and manpower of Hezbollah's terrorist operation, which is responsible for its financial and logistical activities as well as its terrorist operations abroad, are similarly opaque. We do know, however, that Hezbollah's terrorist network, the Islamic Jihad Organization (IJO), was formally founded in 1983 when Hezbollah master terrorist Imad Mughniyeh fled to

Iran after orchestrating the October 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine Corps and French military barracks in Beirut with his brother-in-law, Mustafa Badreddine.

This much is clear: Since its founding, Hezbollah has developed a sophisticated organizational and leadership structure. The overall governing authority, the Majlis al-Shura (Consultative Council), wields all decision-making power and directs several subordinate functional councils. Each functional council reports directly to the Majlis al-Shura, which, as Hezbollah Deputy Secretary-General Naim Qassem wrote in his book, is "in charge of drawing the overall vision and policies, overseeing the general strategies for the party's function, and taking political decisions."

U.S. assessments echo Qassem's description. "Hezbollah has a unified leadership structure that oversees the organization's complementary, partially compartmentalized elements," reads a Congressional Research Service report.

The secretary-general, currently Nasrallah, presides over the Majlis al-Shura and functions as the group's leader under the authority of the "jurist theologian" Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader. Five administrative bodies, organized around thematic responsibilities, run Hezbollah's political, military (jihad), parliamentary, executive, and judicial activities. The Majlis al-Shura considers all elements of the group's activities, including its political and military wings, as part of one holistic entity.

According to Hezbollah's top officials, this unity of purpose among the group's diverse activities is essential to its success. "If the military wing were separated from the political wing, this would have repercussions, and it would reflect on the political scene," Qassem told a Lebanese paper in 2000. "Hezbollah's secretary-general is the head of the Shura Council and also the head of the Jihad Council, and this means that we have one leadership, with one administration."

The Jihad Council is the functional council underneath the Majlis al-Shura responsible for all military matters. Qassem writes that it "comprises those in charge of resistance activity, be that in terms of oversight, recruitment, training, equipment, security, or any other resistance-related endeavors." To accomplish its mission, the council is divided into several smaller units in charge of protecting the leadership and carrying out internal and external surveillance, as well as overseas operations. The party's security branch is further broken down into three subgroups: central, preventive, and overseas security. In 2000, a dedicated counterintelligence branch was reportedly founded as well.

Under this structure, Hezbollah's militia and terrorist activities, along with its security organ, all report to the Jihad Council. Until he was killed, Mughniyeh was Hezbollah's top militant commander and reportedly led the Jihad Council himself. By some accounts, he also held a seat on the Majlis al-Shura, which would be typical for the party's standing military commander.

Unlike its sister councils, however, the Jihad Council enjoys strategic ambiguity. Neither the majority of Hezbollah officials nor the party's elected parliamentarians are aware of the details of their party's covert military and terrorist activities, which are decided on by the most senior leadership. According to the U.S. government, these activities are "executed" by the leadership of Hezbollah's military apparatus, known as the Islamic Resistance and led by Badreddine, and by the IJO, led by Talal Hamiyah, and they are "overseen" by Nasrallah.

Europe's approach to Hezbollah has been varied. Many European governments have resisted international efforts to designate the organization as a terrorist group by distinguishing between Hezbollah's political and military wings. Britain distinguishes among Hezbollah's terrorist wing (the Islamic Jihad Organization), military wing, and political wing, and the country banned the IJO in 2000 and the military wing in 2008. The Netherlands, however, designated Hezbollah a terrorist entity in 2004 without distinguishing between the group's political and military wings. A 2004 Dutch intelligence report highlighted investigations that show "Hezbollah's political and terrorist wings are controlled by one co-ordinating council."

The European Union has taken action against Hezbollah's interests in the past. In May 2002, the European Union froze the assets of a non-European terrorist group for the first time by adding seven Hezbollah-affiliated individuals, including Mughniyeh, to its financial sanctions list for terrorism. It did not, however, sanction Hezbollah as an organization. On March 10, 2005, the European Parliament passed a nonbinding resolution recognizing that "clear evidence exists of terrorist activities on the part of Hezbollah" and calling on the European Council to take "all necessary steps to curtail them."

But the necessary steps did not occur. Instead, most European countries preferred to make convenient distinctions between the different parts of Hezbollah, even when the group's own leadership does not.

Today, as European leaders consider whether to label Hezbollah a terrorist group, they should judge the group by the totality of its actions. Hezbollah cannot be forgiven its criminal, terrorist, or militant pursuits simply because it also engages in political or humanitarian ones. As the Burgas bus bombing demonstrates, the Party of God can and has mobilized operatives for everything from criminal enterprises to terrorist attacks well beyond Lebanon's borders.

And though Hezbollah is composed of multiple committees and branches, it operates as a single entity. Hezbollah, the U.S. intelligence community has determined, is "a multifaceted, disciplined organization that combines political, social, paramilitary, and terrorist elements" and is one in which decisions "to resort to arms or terrorist tactics [are] carefully calibrated."

Hezbollah's Qassem, speaking in October 2012, concurred: "We don't have a military wing and a political one; we don't have Hezbollah on one hand and the resistance party on the other.… Every element of Hezbollah, from commanders to members as well as our various capabilities, are in the service of the resistance, and we have nothing but the resistance as a priority," he said.

Maybe it is time Western leaders finally listened to him.

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He is author of "Hizballah and the Qods Force in Iran's Shadow War with the West" and the forthcoming book Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God.

Article 6.

The Atlantic

A Middle-Class Paradise in Palestine?

Armin Rosen

Feb 11 2013 -- The sole outlet to Rawabi sits off a dizzying two-lane highway flanked by round, scraggly hills. In this part of the West Bank, just north of where the Jerusalem suburbs thin into a dry, granite-gray wilderness, the mountains seem to aid in the illusion that Israeli and Palestinian spheres of authority can remain perfectly, even harmoniously separate. Arabs use the road to get to the Palestinian-controlled cities of Bir Zeit and Ramallah; for Jewish Israelis, the road connects the Jerusalem area to settlements deep inside the northern half of the West Bank.

Ramallah's skyline is barely discernible on a hazy day. Ateret, a red-gabled settlement of about 90 families that sits high above the Rawabi junction -- a community which would likely either be vacated or incorporated into a Palestinian state under a future peace agreement -- flickers in and out of view with every delirious knot in the road. Even a concrete pillbox looming over the highest point along the highway is abandoned, its connection to the territory's oddly invisible occupying army marked only by a tattered Israeli flag that no one has bothered to steal or replace.

Last year was the first since 1973 in which no Israeli citizen was killed in a terrorist attack originating from the West Bank. As on the newly-pacified Gaza-Israel border, a tense quiet pervades things here, although a bright red sign at the junction reminds one category of motorist not to feel too complacent. "This road leads to Area 'A' Under the Palestinian Authority," it reads in Arabic, Hebrew, and broken English. "The entrance for Israeli citizens is forbidden, dangerous to your lives and is against the Israeli law." At the Rawabi junction these warnings of latent danger are almost comically off-base, partly because of the only other marker at the turnoff: a light-green arrow sagging off of a nearby post.

No one lives at the end of the road, which is every bit as wavy and disorienting as the adjoining highway. It empties into a scene that seems engineered for maximum bewilderment: three high-rise cranes, topped with fluttering Palestinian flags, tower over massive stone and concrete building frames. Cement-mixers, painted the same shade of light green as the arrow at the turnoff and marked with the project's logo -- a wiry oval with a cute little convex loop at the end, like a child's drawing of a heart that could also be a tree -- line up to receive material from a buzzing, state-of-the-art plant. The construction site, a couple turns up-road of the cement factory, is swarming with workers in green hardhats. Spotless SUVs with the Rawabi logo on the door speed from one side of the site to another.

Rawabi, which will be the first Palestinian planned city in the West Bank, runs from the top of the mountain to the valley below, with its highest point sitting at an elevation slightly higher than Ateret, which is now constantly visible. In contrast, the chaos of Ramallah, stronghold of an insolvent and sclerotic Palestinian Authority, feels distant in more senses than one.

Rawabi represents something totally new -- a visionary Palestinian-directed private sector project, with support from both Israeli businesses and a major Arab government. It has the potential to shift the conversation on the region's future on both sides of the Green Line. It could convince Palestinians -- and the rest of the world -- that the future of the West Bank shouldn't be shackled to Ramallah or Jerusalem's vacillating willingness to hash out fundamental issues. It could prove that there's an appetite, both among Palestinian consumers and foreign donors, for the creation of a social and economic existence in the West Bank that's de-coupled, insomuch as currently possible, from the Middle East's tense and labyrinthine politics.

It would also help solidify the benefits of the current cessation in hostilities. Indeed, Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas's progress in fostering the end of violent resistance in the West Bank in the years after the bloody Second Intifada, coupled with Palestinian Prime Minister Salaam Fayyad's widely-respected institution-building initiative, could get a crucial private sector assist through Rawabi's eventual success.

And Rawabi gets at something even more fundamental. "It touches upon all of the core issues of control and sovereignty," says Robert Danin, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations who, as head of the Quartet mission in Jerusalem from 2008 to

2010, witnessed some of the political discussions that accompanied the project's creation. "This could be a huge, iconic victory for the whole strategy of building Palestine from the bottom up rather than trying to build it at the negotiating table," he says.

Its success would prove just how much power Palestinians can, and indeed already do, have in shaping their future. And its failure could prove the exact opposite.

I visited Rawabi two weeks ago with a group of national security professionals, as part of a trip organized by the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, a Washington, DC-based think tank. (All of the photos in the body of the article are mine.) We were taken around the construction site by a young Palestinian engineer who conveyed the vast ambition underlying the project: When the city is completed, she said, it will house 45,000 people in 23 distinct neighborhoods with innocuous, nature-based names like "Flint," and "Hard Rock". (Rawabi is Arabic for "Hills".) There will be eight schools -- some of them built with the help of the U.S. Agency for International Development -- a "huge park," a convention center, an 850-seat indoor theater, and a 20,000-seat amphitheater carved into a hillside.

Most ambitiously, there will be a commercial center that developers hope will bring in between 3,000 and 5,000 permanent jobs within the next five years -- hopefully, we were told, in the informational technology sector (an aspiration that might imply a certain cooperation with the burgeoning tech industry on the other side of the Green Line). The engineer said that Rawabi had already created 3,000 construction jobs for West Bank Palestinians. The city is Palestinian-designed and Palestinian-built -- making the surfeit of Qatari flags at the construction site somewhat puzzling at first. And while the project does not purchase materials from Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the engineer was hardly shy in explaining that Rawabi would add an estimated $85 million to the Israeli economy.

As we drove around the construction site, the engineer's talk made few demands on the imagination. The sheer scale of the project is already obvious. Within the next 18 months, the first phase, which includes six neighborhoods, a mosque, the amphitheater, and two-thirds of the city's commercial center, will be complete, and 3,000 people are scheduled will move into Rawabi by the end of 2013. Apartment blocks built of a local white stone -- "Rawabi stone," the engineer called it -- are already rising out of a network of concentric ring-roads centered on the top of the hill. Most of these roads have already been paved, and there are terraced retaining walls, built out of thick stacks of local sandstone, running all the way to the bottom of the valley. No bleachers have been installed in the amphitheater yet, but it's fairly far along, with the future seating area fanning into a wide notch in the mountainside. There are attractive stone signs bearing the stylized Arabic names of neighborhoods that haven't been built yet.

The future commercial center is also well on its way to completion. Situated on a shelf slightly below the summit of the hill, the complex of office buildings, hotels, theaters, and a convention center will huddle around a broad outdoor plaza, which will be connected to the lower neighborhoods through a wide flight of stairs. The stairs, plaza, and central buildings are already past their skeletal phase, and the high-rise apartments ringing the city center look like they're almost complete. For now, the commercial core is a jumble of dust and brutal concrete surfaces, but in the future, someone lingering in the cafés near the staircase will enjoy phenomenal views of the rugged hill country, and perhaps even glimpses of the Jordan River Valley on a clear day.

It is still possible to remain unconvinced of Rawabi's reality -- doubtful as to whether that café will ever be built, or whether any middle class-Palestinian desirous of a generic middle class existence will ever linger there. There's abundant reason for skepticism. The project's future depends on the Israeli authorities' willingness to allow for the construction of access roads in "Area C," or West Bank territory under the direct control of Israel. The sole existing route into the city only exists because the Israeli government, after years of bureaucratic and high-level diplomatic wrangling, granted Rawabi's developers a permit for a "temporary" road. Technically, they will have to destroy the road when the current permission expires. And even if the Israelis agree to make the road permanent, one two-lane route is hardly adequate for a city of 45,000 people. Developers claim it isn't even adequate to the needs of the current construction site.

Water is another challenge. Negotiations with Israel and the Palestinian Water Authority are ongoing, and developers say they have held in excess of 100 meetings with Israeli officials on water-related issues alone. Developers admit that they aren't sure where the city's water resources will eventually come from, and the construction site only got running water two months ago.

And they'll admit that attracting jobs to the site is an even bigger challenge than Israel's West Bank regime. Rawabi isn't meant to be a bedroom community of Ramallah. It's meant to be a self-contained city, with office and retail space. The jobs haven't quite materialized yet (although the developers have a slight head start: between 200 and 300 call center-type jobs currently based in Ramallah are scheduled to move into Rawabi when the first phase of construction is complete). If the political or security situation seriously deteriorates -- if the checkpoints return, if the Israelis are forced to re-occupy urban areas ceded to the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords, as happened during the Second Intifada; if Hamas wages a violent takeover of the Palestinian government -- all bets are off. The developers don't seem to be bothered by those possibilities right now. At the showroom, built at the very top of the hill, the future is nothing but bright.

I chatted with another site engineer as we walked through a scale-model mock-up of a typical Rawabian street, where happy families in western dress waved from little video screens inset in plastic apartment windows. I asked her about the Qatari flags I had seen around the construction site. Qatar's state investment fund is footing two thirds of the nearly $1 billion project bill, she said. "This is the biggest investment in the history of Palestine," she explained as we stepped over a fake valley in the next room, walking past a mock-up of a stunning hilltop view contained inside a mock-up of a future apartment suite. The Rawabians will apparently own large flat-screen TVs and stylish coffee tables, and their living spaces will be kept mercilessly clean.

What, of that $1 billion investment, was going to Israel, I asked? Israeli companies were providing cement powder and sand, she said, and the project had consulted with "Israeli experts." "In some cases, you have to do that," she said, alluding to the comparative difficulty of importing building materials through neighboring Jordan. In other words, working with the Israelis was a necessary business decision for a project this large and complex.

The fake street, fake valley, fake apartment-display ended in a pleasant sky-lit lobby, where representatives of the Cairo Amman Bank, Arab Islamic Bank, and Arab Bank sat in logoed glass cubicles, available to discuss financing for future purchases. And for the still-skeptical, there's a six-minute 3-D movie, where the city appears in its completed glory -- a place where families picnic, men in business dress greet each other amid bustling plazas, and fireworks crest over soaring apartment towers topped with solar panels. The architecture is tasteful. These aren't dachas plunked on fake islands off the coast of Dubai. It's the kind of place where I, or just about anyone in the world with middle or even upper-middle class aspirations, would want to live. And it looked weirdly familiar.

The group had a chance to visit with Bashar Masri, the Nablus-born founder and CEO of Massar International, the Palestinian conglomerate financing a third of Rawabi. Massar and Qatar Diar, the real estate investment arm of the government of Qatar's sovereign wealth fund, jointly created Bayti Real Estate Investment Company -- Palestine to build and market Rawabi. But if two-thirds of the project's money is coming from Qatar, the vision behind Rawabi is Masri's.

Massar owns a private equity fund that invests in Palestinian agriculture and natural gas distribution. It runs travel agencies in Jordan and brokerage firms in Serbia. Massar invests in Harvest Export, which sells Palestinian produce to consumers in Russia and Western Europe -- as well as in Israel. Two years ago, Masri made headlines when he attempted to purchase a bankrupt Jewish housing development in East Jerusalem. He helped create an online trading and brokerage platform for Palestine's stock exchange.

Masri has lived outside of Palestine for periods of his life, and is, by all accounts, largely untainted by connections to the PA's notoriously rent-seeking inner circle. He's a trim middle-aged man, smartly-dressed, friendly and approachable. There seemed no more appropriate a place to talk to him one-on-one than on a wide terrace overlooking the construction site, with hills, valleys, and rising apartment blocks -- the future he was in the process of building -- stretched out in front of him.

"On a good, clear day, you can see Tel Aviv, Ashdod, and Ashkelon," he told me. "One-third of Palestine and Israel." Rawabi is in the second-largest, yet most sparsely-populated Area A in the West Bank -- from the terrace, which faces away from Ateret, you can see expanses of mostly-empty hills. Perhaps in Masri's mind, they are awaiting Rawabis of their own. When I returned to Washington, I asked him in a phone interview if he viewed his project as the first of many such planned cities in Palestine. "I always say our success is measured not by how many homes we sell. It is measured when a second Rawabi is established," he told me.

Standing on the terrace, I asked him if his willingness to undertake such a massive project reflected any optimism about the coming years -- no one invests this much time, money, and energy into something if they expect war is on the horizon. "This project is built for today's politics," he replied. "If it gets a little worse, or a little better -- fine. If it gets really bad, we're in trouble. If it doesn't, then great. We're not waiting on a breakthrough."

He estimated that Israeli obstruction had delayed the project by a year and a half. The bureaucratic inertia could continue:

For instance, developers were surprised to find out that, by a quirk in the West Bank's notoriously Byzantine and palimpsestic legal codes, they required the approval of a joint Israeli-Palestinian water commission created through the Oslo Accords to build a sewage treatment plant in an Area A, approval that they recently received. There's also the still-unresolved matter of the access road. But thus far, Rawabi had flourished in spite of delays and inconveniences.

Could it survive its isolation, though -- could this hilltop off of a two-lane highway get enough water and electricity to support 45,000 people living at a middle class standard? "There is nothing here at all. We're out in the boondocks," he conceded. "We're building everything from scratch." One needed only to glance at the busy construction site below to understand that Masri considers this a point of pride, far from a potential death-sentence for his project.

I asked Masri about something that had jumped out at me during the 3-D video. The finished Rawabi, I'd noted, had the same terraced garden parks, stoic, modular apartment design, and concentric hilltop roads that I had seen in Talpiyot Misrach, a new neighborhood on the fringes of West Jerusalem. His city looked very, well, Israeli.

"This place is influenced by Reston, Virginia," he said -- Masri is a Virginia Tech alumnus, and had lived in the Washington, DC area earlier in life. It was, he said, influenced by planned suburbs outside of Cairo. "And it's influenced by Modi'in," he added, explaining that the site's engineers and designers (who were entirely Palestinian, we had been told earlier), had traveled to the Israeli city, which is built around similar topography, for inspiration.

Palestinians have long understood that a western-style standard of living was possible in their part of the world. They knew that places like Rawabi already existed minutes from their own homes, but didn't think that the quality of life epitomized by hilltop settlements and cities in Israel -- places they weren't allowed to visit without an official permit from the military -- was accessible to them.

During our phone interview, Masri talked about the astonishment that Palestinians feel when they visit the construction site. "When [Palestinians] come to Rawabi, and they go through the showroom and they see what we have planned for them, and they see it actually being built, they say, 'Wow, this can't be for us. This is not for us. This is too high of a standard for us because we are supposed to live miserably under the occupation'. Then they come to the other side of the showroom and see the city being built, and reality starts sinking in."

It's a type of living closely associated with the Palestinians' neighbors in Israel. "They know very well that just a 20-minute drive away, there's a community with a much higher standard of living. And that community happened to be one representing the occupier, quote-unquote the 'enemy.' But they would love to live like that. And that's why when they come to Rawabi some of them don't believe this is for them initially. The first thing that goes through their mind is that this could be for the Israelis."

But it is for them. Rawabi's significance could lie in something more mundane than basic issues of sovereignty and control in the West Bank. It lies in the common, human desire -- powerful on either side of the Green Line -- for a comfortable and dignified existence.

In some quarters, this idea of working within the present and less-than-ideal political and economic framework to achieve this goal is nothing short of inflammatory. The U.S.-based, anti-peace process website Electronic Intifada has smeared Masri as an Israeli collaborator, and there have been scattered accusations that the project actually legitimizes Israeli control over the West Bank.

Danin says that Masri is faced with a difficult balancing act. "On the one hand you're denying the occupation, and you're saying you do not accept its legitimacy," he says. "But that doesn't mean you won't work with Israel in order to improve the Palestinian situation with the goal of removing the occupation. That's a difficult message to convey successfully."

Masri rejects the notion that he abetting a problematic status quo. "The vast majority of Palestinians understand and know reality," he said. "There is no home in Palestine without Israeli cement and parts. Every construction project in Palestine must have components from Israel. So it's not like I'm doing something different."

Of course, he doesn't like that Israel has so much control over Palestinian imports, and the West Bank economy in general. "This is the occupation," he said. "I'm not happy about that and that's why we strive for a state of our own." But he likened boycotting Israeli products to boycotting products from the United Kingdom, the United States, or other countries supportive of Israel -- something he wouldn't consider. The only people he won't buy from are the West Bank settlers.

Luckily, Masri's vision has the backing of a powerful regional government -- one that does not officially recognize Israel, and whose actions have often had the effect of strengthening some of the Jewish State's sworn enemies.

The Gulf kingdom of Qatar has done more than simply buy into the Rawabi paradigm: It's also funding two-thirds of the project, to the tune of over $600 million. This is enough money to single-handedly finance the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority -- which is effectively broke, thanks to penalties imposed by the Israeli and U.S. governments after Mahmoud Abbas's successful push for a U.N. General Assembly vote on Palestinian U.N. membership, and a freeze in financial aid from Gulf State donors, most notably Saudi Arabia -- for the better part of a year.

Instead, the Qataris have not only bypassed the PA, but channeled money into a project that seems to prove the PA's uselessness. "It's like an island inside the traditional infrastructure of the PA," says Jonathan Schanzer, vice president of research at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and author of a book on Palestinian internal politics. "It shows everyone what you can do if you don't go through the PA. The PA receives $600 million a year [in foreign aid] and they have not done something like this."

Masri says that the leadership of the PA has been fully supportive, but that Rawabi has been hurt by the Palestinian government's lack of capacity. "We should not be building public schools. We should not be building a waste water treatment plant or waste water networks or water reservoirs," he told me. "Unfortunately we have to do that because the Palestinian Authority does not have the funding and the donors let [the PA] down."

There might be a political calculation behind Qatar's decision to throw an amount of money equivalent to two years of U.S. financial aid to the PA behind a single private-sector figure like Masri. Qatar recently announced plans to invest nearly $400 million in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip, and in October of 2012, Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani became the first head of state to visit the Strip after the Islamist militant group's 2007 takeover. Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal lives in Doha, and Qatar Diar is financing a major development in Sudan, whose cash-strapped government enjoys close relations with Iran, and has facilitated the transfer of long-range rockets to Hamas. In short, Qatar supports an E.U. and U.S. listed terrorist organization bitterly opposed to both Israel and the current PA leadership. And it also has no problem investing in Rawabi.

According to Kamran Bokhari, vice president of Middle Eastern and South Asian affairs for Stratfor, Qatari support for Hamas is part of the sheikhdom's larger, post-Arab Spring strategy of siding with the Middle East's Islamists, and specifically the Muslim brotherhood, whom the Qataris view as the region's rising power. "The Qatari strategy is that the situation has changed, and we need to fend for ourselves and ensure that the regional anarchy is not going to impact us," says Bokhari. The Qatari investment in Rawabi -- which feeds an $85 million investment in the Israeli economy, and which could not have happened without some degree of official Israeli approval -- is an example of this larger geopolitical strategy, which is driven more by perceived self-interest than by an ideological affinity for political Islam.

"Investments in the region are about the return on political influence," adds Gregory Gause, a professor at the University of Vermont and a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution-Doha. He noted the presence of a large American airbase in Qatar, and the country's close relations with the United States.

In the Palestinian territories, as in the broader region, the Qataris are supporting secular and religious forces in a way that will maximize their influence and keep the regional balance as favorable for them as possible. In a sense, the same strategic calculus that convinces Qatar to support Hamas allows them to cooperate with Israel and the West Bank private sector as well.

"I think Qatar is going by the ground reality," says Bokhari. "Fatah, the ruling faction of the PA, is essentially tanking. It's really in a state of decline because of corruption and charges of embezzlement. It's got an aging leadership. There's no dynamism left in the group. There's a lot of factionalism. It's almost like an oligarchy."

Rawabi could be Qatar's way of encouraging the currently-calm status quo in the West Bank, but without obviously upgrading their ties to Israel, or throwing their money behind a political establishment that they don't fully trust. "On one end they need to make sure Fatah does not completely collapse or weaken to the point where they're no longer coherent," says Bokhari, "and Hamas needs to be shaped and contained and shepherded in a way that it doesn't grow into anything larger."

Though there are politics underlying Qatar's investment in Rawabi, it is still, inevitably, a financial decision. "You have serious people who have a lot at risk here," Danin says. "Their goal is not primarily to make a political point. Their goal is to recoup their investment and make some money." Even resource-rich Qatar, which wants to diversity its holdings in order to hedge against long-term shifts in the oil and natural gas market, cares whether its investment choices pay off.

Danin believes that Rawabi's Palestinian and Qatari investors made a wise decision. Housing in Ramallah is expensive, and Danin says that there is a sizable and highly-educated Palestinian middle class in need of an alternative to the West Bank's de-facto capital. He expressed little doubt when I asked him if the West Bank economy could support Rawabi. "This is a Palestinian national project," he said. "It is the best of what is possible in that it's private sector-led, and it's profit-making led."

And it has supporters in high places. When President Barack Obama met with Israeli officials in Washington in September of 2010, Rawabi was on the agenda.

From one perspective, Rawabi is a historic investment in Palestine, as well as an unusually open point of cooperation between Israel and an Arab government. It could improve the lives of Palestinians, while convincing Israelis that they have nothing to fear from their neighbors' prosperity. But any attempts to change the status quo in the West Bank are fraught with difficulties.

There's Israeli bureaucracy to overcome. "In Israel, if the Minister of Defense says I want something, it's not that the system thwarts it. But the system is so decentralized that ultimately it takes a lot of steps to get it translated into action," says Danin. Israeli officials are positively disposed towards Rawabi, but it's still taken years to resolve sovereignty and governance issues around necessities like water, and a single access road. Such Israeli inertia was apparently at the heart of Obama's concerns back in 2010, and sources say that the president has discussed the issue of the access road with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on multiple occasions.

Back in Washington, I asked Masri if he believed the Israelis understood the potential importance of Rawabi. "I really don't know," he said. "Their statements are neutral to positive. But their actions are neutral to negative."

And then there's the larger inertia. What meaning does a place like Rawabi have if it sits in the middle of a still-unresolved conflict, or if Palestinian economic self-improvement stands in contrast to an all-pervading political stasis -- or even political backsliding? Today, Rawabi is significant because of its novelty. But if there's a breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, perhaps enabled by a growing West Bank economy and a permanent end in terrorism, it could take on an importance much larger than itself.

On the drive out of the valley, where the highway swerves past the pillbox with the beaten Israeli flag and past the turnoff for Ateret, the picture is still mixed.

Armin Rosen writes for and produces The Atlantic*'s International Channel.*

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The Wall Street Journal

The Ayatollah Always Says No

Editorial

February 8, 2013 --The Farsi word for "no" is na h, which is easy enough to remember. Maybe even Joe Biden won't forget it the next time the U.S. tries to reach out diplomatically to Iran.

We're speaking of the Administration's latest effort to come to terms with Tehran over its nuclear programs, which Mr. Biden made last weekend at the Munich Security Conference. The U.S. offer of direct bilateral talks, he said, "stands, but it must be real and tangible." Iranian foreign minister Ali Akbar Salehi, who was also at the conference though he refused to meet with U.S. officials, called Mr. Biden's comments "a step forward."

Mr. Salehi's remark set the usual hearts aflutter that Iran is finally serious about a deal. But the optimism was brief. On Thursday, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei flatly rejected direct talks with the U.S. "The U.S. is pointing a gun at Iran and wants us to talk to them," he said. "Direct talks will not solve any problems."

This isn't the first time Mr. Khamenei has played chaste Daphne to President Obama's infatuated Apollo. Just after becoming President in 2009, Mr. Obama sent the Ayatollah two private letters and delivered a conciliatory speech for the Persian new year of Nowruz. Mr. Khamenei's answer: "They chant the slogan of change but no change is seen in practice." He told a crowd chanting "death to America" that "if a hand is stretched covered with a velvet glove but it is cast iron inside, that makes no sense."

That was in March 2009. In October of that year the U.S. and its allies tentatively worked out a deal with Iranian negotiators to move some of their enriched uranium outside Iran. Western analysts were confident that Mr. Khamenei would give his blessing, given the international pressure he was said to be under following the fraudulent elections and the bloody crackdown that followed.

The Ayatollah quashed that deal too: "Whenever they [Americans] smile at the officials of the Islamic revolution, when we carefully look at the situation, we notice that they are hiding a dagger behind their back."

It was the same in January 2011, when diplomacy also collapsed. Ditto in 2012, when negotiations in February, May and June each ended in failure. Washington went into those talks thinking they were going to succeed on the theory that Tehran desperately wants relief from the supposedly crippling pressure of economic sanctions.

Why does the Ayatollah keep saying no? The conventional wisdom is that previous U.S. offers weren't generous enough, or that the wrong President was in the White House, or that Iran wants only to deal directly with the U.S. and not in multilateral forums. Each of these theories has been tested and shown to be false.

A more persuasive explanation—get ready for this shocker—is that Iran really wants a bomb. The regime believes, not unreasonably, that Moammar Gadhafi would still be in power had he not given up his nuclear program in 2003. Mr. Khamenei also fears a "velvet revolution" scenario, in which more normal ties with the West threaten the ideological foundations of the Islamic Republic. Confrontation with America is in this regime's DNA.

Meantime, the pretense of negotiations has allowed Tehran to play for time to advance its programs. When Mr. Obama took office, Iran had enriched 1,000 kilos of reactor-grade uranium. In its last report from November, U.N. inspectors found that Iran has produced 7,611 kilos to reactor grade, along with 232 kilos of uranium enriched to 20%, which is close to bomb-grade. Last month, Iran declared that it would install 3,000 advanced centrifuges at its Natanz facility, which can enrich uranium at two to three times its current rate.

As for the sanctions, they may hurt ordinary Iranians but this regime is famously indifferent to the suffering of its own people. The Ayatollah also doesn't seem to take the Administration's talk about "all options being on the table" seriously. Mr. Obama's nomination of Iran dove Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense reinforces that impression, as do reports that the White House blocked Pentagon and CIA plans to arm the opposition that's fighting to overthrow Iran's client regime in Damascus. An America that won't help proxies in a proxy war isn't likely to take the fight directly to Iran's nuclear facilities.

In rejecting Mr. Biden's offer, the Ayatollah said frankly, "I'm not a diplomat; I'm a revolutionary." Another round of multilateral talks with Iran is set to resume this month, but maybe Joe Biden and his boss should start taking no for an answer.

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

Let's face it: Obama's Iran policy is failing

James Traub

February 8, 2013 -- There is no better example of an Obama administration initiative that has succeeded on its own terms, and yet failed as policy, than Iran. By engaging the regime in Tehran, and being rebuffed, the White House has been able to enlist China, Russia, and the European Union in imposing tough sanctions on Iran. By steadily ratcheting up those sanctions, the administration has been able to gradually squeeze the Iranian economy. By insisting that "containment" is not an option, Obama has persuaded Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that he need not launch an attack on Iran's nuclear facilities -- at least not any time soon.

Obama has done everything right, and yet his Iran policy is failing. There is no evidence that the sanctions will bring Iran to its knees and force the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, to accept the humiliation of abandoning his nuclear program. But neither is there any sign of new thinking in the White House. "I don't see how what didn't work last year is going to work this year," says Vali Nasr, who served in the Obama State Department before becoming dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He might not get much of an argument from White House officials, who, the New York Times recently noted, "seem content with stalemate."

The United States is not negotiating directly with Iran but rather doing so through the P5+1, which consists of the five permanent Security Council members and Germany. The P5+1's current position is that Iran must stop enriching nuclear fuel to 20 percent purity -- a point from which Iran could quickly move to weapons-grade material -- transfer its existing stock of such fuel to a third country, and shut down one of its two enrichment facilities, known as Fordow. In exchange, the parties will help Iran produce such fuel for medical purposes, which the regime claims is its actual goal. Iran has refused, saying it will not shut down Fordow.

But the current state of play masks the larger issue, which is that the ayatollah and those around him believe the United States wants to make Iran cry uncle -- which happens to be true. The next round of P5+1 negotiations, now scheduled for Feb. 25 in Kazakhstan, are almost certainly not going to go anywhere unless the United States signals that it is prepared to make what the Iranians view as meaningful and equivalent moves in exchange for Iranian concessions. Arms-control experts say that both British Prime Minister David Cameron and Catherine Ashton, head of foreign affairs for the European Union, favor offering Iran a reduction in sanctions; but there's a limit to what they can do without the United States.

Of course, such flexibility would be pointless if Iran is simply hell-bent on gaining the capacity to produce a nuclear weapon. The signals, as always with Iran, are cryptic. Iranian authorities have told nuclear inspectors that they plan to install a new generation of centrifuges in order to accelerate enrichment. And yet Iran also chose to convert some of its stockpile of highly enriched uranium for medical use rather than approach the amount needed for a bomb, leading Israeli authorities to predict that Iran wouldn't be able to build a bomb before 2015 or 2016. Last week, Ali Akbar Velayati, Khamenei's foreign policy advisor, publicly criticized officials who have treated the negotiations dismissively. Presumably, he was thinking of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has compared Iran's nuclear program to a train without brakes.

Iran is now at the outset of what promises to be a raucous presidential election, and may be no more capable of serious negotiations between now and June than the United States was in 2012. But what is clear is that the sanctions have moderated Iranian behavior and rhetoric. At the same time, as the Times also noted, the economic pressure is not nearly great enough to compel concessions that the regime would view as a blow to national pride. In short, Iran might -- might -- be more willing to accept a face-saving compromise than they were a year or two ago, but will need serious inducements to do so.

What would that entail? Virtually all the proposals that have come from outside experts suggest that the P5+1 begin with modest confidence-building measures, especially in the period before the election. A recent report by the Arms Control Association enumerates several of them. Western diplomats, for example, could take up Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran's foreign minister, on his proposal to limit the "extent" of enrichment -- i.e., well below 20 percent -- in exchange for fuel rods for the research reaction and a recognition of Iran's "right to enrich," a notional concept the United States already supports under specified conditions. Or Iran could suspend 20-percent enrichment in exchange for a suspension of new sanctions. But Iran is unlikely to accept even such small steps unless it felt that additional moves would win additional explicit concessions.

Beyond that, the outlines of what in Middle East peacemaking is known as "final status" are clear enough: Iran agrees to verifiable inspections to ensure that it does not enrich uranium beyond 3.5 percent and does not pursue a nuclear weapons program, while the West accepts Iran's "right to enrich" and dismantles sanctions. Of course, the outlines of a Middle East peace deal are clear enough, too. But in both cases, neither side trusts the other, and each demands that the other go first. Instead, nobody goes anywhere.

U.S. officials have very good reason to be wary of Iran's bona fides. In 2009, they reached a deal with Iranian negotiators to send the stockpile of highly enriched uranium out of the country -- only to see the ayatollah repudiate it. As Ray Takeyh, an Iran expert with the Council on Foreign Relations puts it, "Khamenei has created a politics where it's hard for him to compromise." But so has the United States. Anyone who watched Chuck Hagel's confirmation hearing knows that it is an article of faith in Congress -- and pretty much a bipartisan one -- that Iran is a faithless, illegitimate terrorist state that will be deterred from building a bomb only by the threat of massive attack. Had Hagel been foolish enough to suggest that the United States offer to reduce sanctions in exchange for Iranian concessions, the White House would have had to find a new candidate for defense secretary.

It's the U.S. Congress that arguably holds the high cards, though the White House put them in its hands. The most potent sanctions are legislated, and have been written in such a way that they will be very hard to unwind. Obama can waive them for up to six months. But the ayatollah is not about to make irreversible decisions in exchange for six months of relief.

The White House is thus stuck between Tehran and Capitol Hill. And it can't live long with the current stalemate. After all, Obama has said that "containment" is not an option. He is hoping that the combination of economic pain and fear of military action will bring Tehran to its senses. If it doesn't, the president has said that he is prepared to use force. Perhaps he feels that just as spurned engagement served as the predicate for tough sanctions, so would failed negotiations lay the predicate for a broadly supported strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. Iran left us no choice, he might say, as the bombers fly.

That would constitute a diplomatic triumph ... if a strike against Iran's nuclear facilities is a good idea. If in fact it's a dreadful prospect -- worse, perhaps, even than containment -- then it would constitute a failure that would obliterate the record of adroit diplomacy of the last four years. Obama understands very well -- even if many members of Congress do not -- that even our worst adversaries have interests of their own, that those interests feel as legitimate to them as ours do to us, and that we at least have a chance of settling disputes with them if we can find the place where our interests overlap. The time has come for him to apply that wisdom to Iran.

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Article 3.

The National

An uneasy courtship as Iran and Egypt test the waters

Alan Philps

Feb 8, 2013 -- There is a consensus among commentators that the visit of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to Egypt - complete with red carpet and kiss on both cheeks from President Mohammed Morsi - does not amount to a breakthrough. The view of US think-tanks is that it does not amount to very much at all, and certainly not worth getting anxious about. Such a consensus is always dangerous, and it is worth looking more closely at what it is based on.

Mr Ahmadinejad is the first Iranian leader to set foot in Cairo since the deposed Shah of Iran was given refuge in Cairo, where he died and received a state funeral. The two countries have not had diplomatic relations since 1979.

The Iranian president's visit has deep historical significance, even if he came as a guest of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference summit. The picture of the two presidents embracing says to the world: Egypt is released from the US straitjacket and is free to resume its position as a regional power.

There are plenty of reasons, however, to dismiss the visit as just show. Mr Ahmadinejad is a lame duck, banned by the constitution from running for a third term in the June elections. As Iran moves into a period of war economy under the pressure of sanctions designed to curb its nuclear programme, Mr Ahmadinejad is engaged in a furious struggle to ensure that his rival, the parliamentary speaker, Ali Larijani, does not succeed him. The corruption allegations levelled by Mr Ahmadinejad against the Larijani family are deeply damaging to the Iranian regime.

Mr Morsi, meanwhile, has little to show Egyptians that he has improved their lot. Cairo is the scene of near-constant street battles and the economy is tanking. Egypt's currency reserves have just sunk to $13.6 billion (Dh50 billion), below the critical level needed to cover three months of imports. The country is staring bankruptcy in the face, but cannot access emergency funds from the International Monetary Fund without implementing unpopular reforms that would further raise social tensions.

Both leaders need to show that they have "friends" abroad. The reality is a little different. Egypt and Iran appear to be divided by the Syria conflict, which is symptomatic of the wider split between the Sunni Muslim powers, led by Saudi Arabia, and Iran's faltering "axis of resistance" that, with Syria in play and Hamas having defected, now looks increasingly like a Shia Muslim axis.

If we look more closely, then the story of Egypt resuming its role as a regional power looks premature. At this stage, Egypt is trying to find some space to manoeuvre between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Given that Saudi Arabia has the money that Egypt needs, and Washington has a lock on the actions of the IMF, that space is limited.

But what does Washington think? Not very much at the moment. With President Barack Obama's second term team still being assembled, it is not surprising that there is something of a vacuum in Middle East policy. But the issue is deeper than that. The Obama administration has declared it wants to focus on the Asia-Pacific region and, surprisingly, it means what it says.

Only a year after troops withdrew from Iraq, that country is not talked about in Washington, like an embarrassing relative. In North Africa, the US military has taken a back seat while the work of toppling Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and driving back the jihadists in Mali has been left to Franco-British forces. Syrian policy is one of drift, where the administration finds all options unpalatable. In Egypt, Washington has set a red line for the Muslim Brotherhood leadership: it must adhere to the peace treaty with Israel. Everything else is negotiable.

This week the Pentagon revealed that it would no longer be stationing two aircraft carriers in the Gulf region, as it has done for most of the past two years, due to cuts in the defence budget, and the possibility of even more stringent ones if Congress fails to agree on raising the US debt ceiling.

The Iranian nuclear programme remains a priority in Washington, but the carrier decision indicates a less warlike stance. One cannot say that US power is ebbing, but there is a clear lack of political will in Washington for decisive action in the Middle East. For now, the logic is that regional powers will have to take more responsibility. Egypt, although impotent at the moment, will have to find its role. The US needs to talk to Iran if there is ever going to be a compromise on its nuclear programme. Maybe Egypt could help.

Both Egypt and Iran have denied a report that General Qassem Suleimani, commander of the Quds force, a division of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the man responsible for Iran's military operations in Syria, visited Cairo in January. There was no reaction in Washington to this report.

If there is going to be a resolution of the Syrian crisis without a decade of Lebanon-style war, then allies of the US will have to speak to someone of the calibre of Gen Suleimani, a far more important figure than Mr Ahmadinejad. Could this lead to a historic compromise between the Muslim Brotherhood and the ayatollahs to create a new Islamic front spreading revolution?

That is out of the question. Egypt is too reliant on foreign finance, which Iran cannot offer at the moment, for it to swing into Tehran's orbit. And there is far too much domestic opposition.

What is clear is that while the US is reluctant to take direct responsibility, other countries must find ways of resolving the regional contradictions that have become unmanageable in the era of American tutelage. That will lead to some unlikely meetings taking place. The Morsi-Ahmadinejad embrace may not be a breakthrough, but it does show one thing: what was unthinkable a few years ago may one day be the norm.

Article 4.

Al-Monitor

Hamas Weighs Options For Recognizing Israel

Adnan Abu Amer

February 8 -- Recently, a lot has been said — and a lot of denials have been issued — about Hamas recognizing a two-state solution. It appears that Hamas is still vacillating between explicitly and implicitly recognizing Israel. Hamas realizes that recognizing Israel would open up the world's doors to the movement. At the same time, Hamas knows that such a move would be seen as a betrayal by the movement's supporters, both inside and outside Palestine. As Hamas well knows, its legitimacy derives from its vocal support for armed struggle within the complicated Palestinian reality. Hamas also knows that it will pay a heavy price if it is seen to be agreeing to international conditions. The cost will not only be political, but also ideological. Hamas has spent many years talking and writing about its notion of the state, its identity, borders, concept, constitution and the role of Islam within it. Generations of Hamas members were raised on those ideas. But those ideas have remained part of the imagination and heritage, and of the nostalgic dream of restoring the Islamic caliphate.

The concept of the state

Today's debate within Hamas over the concept of the state is more concrete than theoretical. The political conditions in the Palestinian territories do not allow for dreaming about unrealistic grand theories being promoted by some Islamist movements. Hamas is facing real-world problems that require real-world solutions. The Palestinian state being envisioned by Palestinian, Arab, and world politicians is based on the June 1967 borders. But does that fit Hamas's political vision and intellectual orientation? Generations of Islamists have been raised on the concept of the "Islamic state," which is synonymous with the Islamic caliphate. But Hamas's situation is a little different. Israel's occupation of all Palestinian territories is a political and concrete obstacle to the dream of an Islamic state and it forces the consideration of more realistic options. So we have started hearing, from Hamas, statements about establishing a Palestinian state on the June 1967 borders. There is no doubt that this development is an intellectual and political shift by Hamas. More than 20 years ago, Hamas founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin proposed a long truce with Israel. But today, such a proposal is more realistic and is attributed to Hamas's current leader Khaled Meshaal. Hamas in 2013 is different than Hamas in 1993. Hamas is now an influential player and its statements and stances are taken into account by regional and international decision-making circles.

Recognition and commitment

The shuttle diplomacy by Western officials between Gaza, where Hamas's domestic leadership is located, and the Arab capitals of Doha, Cairo and Amman have only one objective: getting Hamas to agree to the conditions that would allow it to be embraced by the international community. In other words, they want Hamas to agree to the two-state solution. And that, explicitly or implicitly, essentially means that Hamas has recognized Israel's right to exist! Those who have been following Hamas's course since it was founded 25 years ago notice that every once in awhile there is international pressure to make Hamas agree to those conditions. But Hamas is afraid to fall into the same trap that others, like Fatah, have fallen into without getting anything in return except loss of popular support, as was demonstrated in the elections seven years ago. In light of the demands that the movement should recognize the two-state solution and make political commitments, some influential circles within the Hamas leadership think that the movement is being drawn into going beyond its rational political discourse and how it deals with the reality on the ground, and into recognizing Israel and exchanging messages with it. However, the siege has made the Palestinian territories miserable. So decision-makers in Hamas are forced to issue hints and signals that do not affect the movement's general principles. Those signals, however, may be misunderstood. And this is where the problem lies. No one thinks that Hamas supporters will make a big deal of those signals, but any concrete steps toward recognizing Israel will cost Hamas dearly, something which I don't think Hamas wants during this dangerous phase. At the external level, Hamas's enemies and opponents may think that the siege has finally paid off, albeit a little late, and that Hamas's current declarations are signals that, if the siege and the Palestinian suffering continue, the movement may explicitly recognize Israel, which would open the "appetite" of Hamas' opponents for more breakthroughs in its ideology and principles.

Not an existential conflict, but a border dispute.

Although Hamas is aware of all that, it should be noted that in a few months it is facing elections during which the movement's signals that it may accept a two-state solution will be used in a fierce anti-Hamas campaign. Even though the movement has provided a different administrative performance than before, the fundamental change in the movement's political program may be a decisive factor for the Palestinian voters. As Hamas is being smothered, with a few breaches here and there, the demands that it should recognize Israel are ongoing and without letup. In other words, Hamas must choose between recognizing Israel to stay in power, or losing what it has achieved democratically as punishment for having to refused to bow to the world's conditions. In reality, the international community has not significantly changed its relationship with the Palestinians, including Hamas, over the past months and years. There has only been some cosmetic and tactical changes. Washington, the European Union and the UN have not only signaled to Hamas that it should join the “broken and paralyzed” peace process, they have also insisted that the Palestinians explicitly recognize Israel. But this time, those powers are armed with an “Islamic religious cloak,” which would make a recognition of Israel more meaningful, especially since Hamas considers its conflict with Israel to be an ideological “existential conflict, not a border dispute.” That pressure is accompanied with a financial and economic blockade, which is increasing the pressure on Hamas, especially since those carrying out the blockade are blocking anything that would alleviate Palestinian suffering. It is clear that they want to punish the Palestinians for electing Hamas and warn them against reelecting them; that is if the reconciliation succeeds and the elections happen on time. It should be noted that certain Israeli and Western research institutions have estimated the timeframe that Hamas will need to explicitly recognize Israel. They may accept from Hamas certain rhetorical signals for a while before the movement officially recognizes Israel. Since Hamas was founded in late 1987, it has been conducting an ideological and political campaign for its members and supporters against recognizing Israel. Hamas’ constitution says that Israel is a “cancer that must be eradicated,” and that “its demise is a Quranic inevitability.” Those and other slogans have been a key component of Hamas’s political discourse. It is therefore not easy for Hamas to change overnight due to political realism and suddenly tell its supporters: We shall recognize Israel, but it’s under duress!

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Article 6.

NYT

An Assassination in Tunisia

Editorial

February 8, 2013 -- Tunisia is where the Arab Spring began just over two years ago. Until now it has set an encouraging example of progress toward democracy and pluralism. Free elections brought to power a coalition government pledged to pragmatic cooperation between a moderate-led Islamist party, Ennahda, and smaller, secular coalition partners.

Progress has not always been smooth. But just as Tunisians inspired people in neighboring countries like Egypt and Libya to rise up against their corrupt and repressive dictators, they also seemed, for many, to point the way toward a democratic future accommodating both religious beliefs and the rights of the secular under the rule of law.

Those hopes have been severely shaken by the murder on Wednesday of Chokri Belaid. Mr. Belaid, a human- rights activist and one of Ennahda's most outspoken critics, had publicly challenged the party's failure to investigate or prosecute violent acts of intimidation carried out by shadowy gangs of religious extremists. Mr. Belaid's killers have not yet been identified. But suspicion now falls on those same extremist groups, which had issued public threats against Mr. Belaid and other prominent secular leaders — without any serious government response.

Thousands gathered for Mr. Belaid's funeral on Friday amid a nationwide general strike called by his trade union supporters. Tensions are high. What is urgently needed is a credible, independent investigation of Mr. Belaid's murder, followed by prosecution of the killers.

Given Ennahda's record of selectively ignoring Islamist violence, that investigation cannot be left to its appointees alone. A preferable alternative would be to reconstitute the broad-based, multiparty commissions that successfully oversaw Tunisia's free elections in October 2011 and investigated the crimes of the fallen dictatorship.

Ennahda, which captured 41 percent of the vote in the elections, promised to cooperate with secular parties and show respect for pluralism. Instead, it is sending muddled messages. On Wednesday, Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali made a conciliatory gesture by proposing a temporary nonpolitical cabinet and new elections. Unfortunately, hard-line party members quickly repudiated him.

Tunisia's revolution, which has overcome past crises, can overcome this one if Ennahda and all other Tunisian parties recommit themselves to nonviolence, mutual tolerance and upholding the rule of law.

Article 7.

The Washington Post

Iraq's return to bloodshed

Kimberly Kagan and Frederick W. Kagan

February 8, 2013 -- Eighteen days of protests in Egypt in 2011 electrified the world. But more than twice that many days of protest in Iraq have gone almost unnoticed in the United States. Iraqi army troops killed five Sunni protesters in Fallujah on Jan. 25, after a month of anti-government protests in Anbar, Nineveh and Salahuddin provinces and elsewhere for which thousands turned out. Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Iranian-backed Shiite militias are re-mobilizing. Iraq teeters on the brink of renewed insurgency and, potentially, civil war.

This crisis matters for America. U.S. vital interests that have been undermined over the past year include preventing Iraq from becoming a haven for al-Qaeda and destabilizing the region by becoming a security vacuum or a dictatorship that inflames sectarian civil war; containing Iranian influence in the region; and ensuring the free flow of oil to the global market.

While tensions have risen over the past two years, the triggers for recent eruptions are clear. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, had the bodyguards of Finance Minister Rafie al-Issawi, who is Sunni, arrested for alleged terrorist activities on Dec. 20 — almost exactly one year after he ordered the arrest of Sunni Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi's security detail. Hashimi fled to Turkey and is unlikely to return soon to Iraq, where he was sentenced to death after Maliki demanded his trial in absentia for murder and financing terrorism.

The threat to Issawi, a moderate technocrat from Anbar, galvanized Iraqi Sunnis, who rightly saw Maliki's move as sectarian and an assault on government participation by Sunnis not under the prime minister's thumb. Three days after the arrests, demonstrations broke out in Ramadi, Fallujah and Samarra. Three days after that, a large protest closed the highway from Baghdad to Syria and Jordan. The popular resistance spread to Mosul on Dec. 27.

These protests erupted during a constitutional crisis and as an expanding Arab-Kurd conflict has become increasingly militarized. Iraqi President Jalal Talabani was incapacitated by a stroke on Dec. 17 and has been out of the countryfor treatment. Iraq's constitution specifies a line of succession — but with one vice president in exile and the other a Shiite and obvious Maliki proxy, Iraq has been, in effect, operating without a president. Political processes that require presidential involvement have been paralyzed, including moving forward with long-standing efforts by Sunnis and Kurds to hold a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in Maliki.

Talabani had been the critical link holding Baghdad and Kurdistan together since tensions rose following a 10-day standoff between Iraqi army units and Kurdish pesh merga troops in October, after Maliki sent the army toward the disputed city of Kirkuk. That move followed a series of skirmishes and mobilizations along the "Green Line" separating Kurdistan from Arab Iraq and a series of attacks in the area by al-Qaeda in Iraq.

The recent protests underscore the collapse of the inclusive political accommodation reached in 2007, which had been reconfirmed by the formation of a grand Sunni-Shiite-Kurd coalition government after parliamentary elections in 2010. By November 2012, Maliki had evolved to openly discussing his intention to form a “majoritarian government” that would exclude the most important Sunni representatives. In mid-December he participated in creating a Shiite grand alliance as the launching pad for that government. The principal Sunni political leaders, including Issawi, parliamentary speaker Osama al-Nujaifiand Anbari tribal leader Ahmed abu Rishaannounced their intention to form their own coalition. In short, Iraqi politics was re-fragmenting along sectarian and ethnic lines even before the protests began.

Understood in this context, the Iraqi army’s killing of protesters in Fallujah last month is a watershed event similar to the destruction of the Askariya shrine in Samarra in February 2006, though the crisis will not escalate as quickly. Sunni-Shiite tensions have hitherto played out in political forums. The key actors in today’s crisis are not the Sunni political leaders but, rather, Anbari tribal leaders, including Ali Hatem Ali Suleiman, one of the most powerful leaders of Iraq’s largest Sunni tribe. Suleiman and fellow leaders of the Dulaim tribe were essential to engineering the Anbar Awakening in 2007 and Sunni participation in the government, for which they rejected al-Qaeda in Iraq and renounced violence against the state. They responded to the killings of protesters last month by threatening open war against the state for the first time since 2007. So far at least, they have restrained protesters and resisted violent confrontation.

For his part, Maliki has sought to deescalate the conflict and to mollify protesters. Tehran has also been working — to persuade Iraq’s Sadrists, whom Maliki has alienated in his consolidation of power, to abandon their support for their Sunni brethren. Their combined efforts appear to be working: The Sadrist Bloc, which had refused Maliki’s request for suggestions to replace Issawi and other Sunni politicians, has put forth a substitute finance minister.

These efforts, ostensibly toward political resolution, actually increase the likelihood of sectarian war by continuing the marginalization of Sunni political leaders without addressing Sunni tribes’ core grievances — and by re-creating a Shiite front that had splintered.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq has already taken advantage of this situation through its front group, the Islamic State of Iraq, which deployed combat teams in Fallujah last month that targeted Iraqi army positions and killed several soldiers. The jihadists' black flags have appeared at Sunni protests and memorial ceremonies for the fallen. The group is back in the havens it held in 2006. If Maliki does not allow proper Sunni representation in government, al-Qaeda will gain greater popular tolerance and foreign support.

Over the past year, the situation in Iraq has become explosive while sectarian sentiment and armed violence in neighboring nations have escalated dramatically. Americans have become accustomed to watching Iraq approach the precipice and draw back. But circumstances have changed with the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and Maliki's year-long efforts to intimidate his opponents through political, judicial and military maneuvers. If Maliki does not accept many of the protesters' reasonable demands and allow meaningful Sunni participation in government, prospects for stopping Iraq's descent into sectarian conflict are grim.

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Article 8.

The American Spectator

Islam and Islamism in the Modern World

An interview with Daniel Pipes (By Tom Bethell)

February 2013 -- *Daniel Pipes, one of our leading experts on Islam, established the Middle East Forum and became its head in 1994. He was born in 1949 and grew up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His father, Richard Pipes, was a professor of Russian history, now emeritus, at Harvard. Daniel studied Arabic and Islamic history and lived in Cairo for* *three years. His PhD dissertation became his first book, Slave Soldiers and Islam (1981). Then his interest in purely academic subjects expanded to include modern Islam. He left the university because, as he told an interviewer from Harvard Magazine, he has "the simple politics of a truck driver, not the complex ones of an academic." His story of being harassed through the legal system by a Muslim who later committed suicide was recently told in The American Spectator ("A Palestinian in Texas," TAS, November 2012). He has been personally threatened but prefers not to talk about specifics except to note that law enforcement has been involved. I interviewed Pipes shortly before Christmas, when the Egyptians were voting on their new constitution. I started out by saying that the number of Muslims in the U.S. has doubled since the 9/11 attacks.*

DP: My career divides in two: before and after 9/11. In the first part I was trying to show that Islam is relevant to political concerns. If you want to understand Muslims, I argued, you need to understand the role of Islam in their lives. Now that seems obvious. If anything, there's a tendency to over-emphasize Islam; to assume that Muslims are dominated by the Koran and are its automatons—which goes too far. You can't just read the Koran to understand Muslim life. You have to look at history, at personalities, at economics, and so on.

TB: Do you see the revival of Islam as a reality?

DP: Yes. Half a century ago Islam was waning, the application of its laws became ever more remote, and the sense existed that Islam, like other religions, was in decline. Since then there has been a sharp and I think indisputable reversal. We're all talking about Islam and its laws now.

TB: At the same time you have raised an odd question: "Can Islam survive Islamism?" Can you explain that?

DP: I draw a distinction between traditional Islam and Islamism. Islamism emerged in its modern form in the 1920s and is driven by a belief that Muslims can be strong and rich again if they follow the Islamic law severely and in its entirety. This is a response to the trauma of modern Islam. And yet this form of Islam is doing deep damage to faith, to the point that I wonder if Islam will ever recover.

TB: Give us the historical context.

DP: The modern era for Muslims began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. Muslims experienced a great shock at seeing how advanced the blue-eyed peoples from the north had become. It would be roughly analogous to the Eskimos coming down south and decimating Westerners, who would uncomprehendingly ask in response, "Who are these people and how are they defeating us?"

TB: So how did they respond?

DP: Muslims over the past 200 years have made many efforts to figure out what went wrong. They have experimented with several answers. One was to emulate liberal Europe—Britain and France—until about 1920. Another was to emulate illiberal Europe—Germany and Russia—until about 1970. The third was to go back to what are imagined to be the sources of Islamic strength a millennium ago, namely the application of Islamic law. That's Islamism. It's a modern phenomenon, and it's making Muslims the center of world unrest.

TB: But it is also creating discomfort?

DP: It has terribly deleterious effects on Muslims. Many of them are put off by Islam. In Iran, for example, one finds a lot of alienation from Islam as a result of the Islamist rule of the last 30-odd years.

TB: Has it happened anywhere else?

DP: One hears reports, especially from Algeria and Iraq, of Muslims converting to Christianity. And in an unprecedented move, ex-Muslims living in the West have organized with the goal of becoming a political force. I believe the first such effort was the Centraal Comité voor Ex-moslims in the Netherlands, but now it's all over the place.

TB: Nonetheless, Islam has lasted for 1,500 years.

DP: Yes, but modern Islamism has been around only since the 1920s, and I predict it will not last as a world-threatening force for more than a few decades. Will Muslims leave the faith or simply stop practicing it? These are the sort of questions I expect to be current before long.

TB: What about Islam in the United States?

DP: In the long term, the United States could greatly benefit Islam by uniquely freeing the religion from government constraints and permitting it to evolve in a positive, modern direction. But that's the long term. Right now, American Muslims labor under Saudi and other influences, their institutions are extreme, and things are heading in a destructive direction. It's also distressing to see how non-Muslim individuals and institutions, particularly those on the left, indulge Islamist misbehavior.

TB: How do they do that?

DP: Well, turn on the television, go to a class, follow the work of the ACLU or the Southern Poverty Law Center, and you will see corporations, nonprofits, and government institutions working with the Islamists, helping promote the Islamist agenda. The American left and the Islamists agree on what they dislike—conservatives—and, despite their profound differences, they cooperate.

TB: Presumably some Muslims here deconvert, right?

DP: There are some conversions out of Islam, yes. And the Muslim establishment in this country is quite concerned about that. But numerically it is not a significant number.

TB: The ones who convert don't talk about it very much?

DP: In some cases they do; they take advantage of Western freedoms to speak their minds. They are the exceptions, though.

TB: I suspect that the decline of Christianity has encouraged Islam.

DP: Very much so, as the contrast between Europe and the United States reveals. The hard kernel of American Christian faith, not present in Europe, means that Islamists are far better behaved in the United States. They see the importance of a Christian counterforce.

TB: Earlier, you mentioned Algeria. It is a big Muslim state that we don't hear about today.

DP: Twenty years ago Algeria was a major focus of attention. That long ago ended, although in France coverage is still significant. Algeria is ripe for the same kind of upheaval that we have seen in other North African states, such as Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. I think it is likely to happen before too long.

TB: What about Syria?

DP: Assad's power is steadily diminishing and I cannot see how his regime will remain long in power.

TB: Should the United States get involved there?

DP: No, Americans have no dog in this fight and nothing in the U.S. Constitution requires us to get involved in every foreign conflict. Two wretched forces are killing each other; just look at the ghastly videos of the two sides torturing and executing the other. Listen also to what they are saying. It's a civil war involving the bad and the worse. I don't want the U.S. government involved. That would mean bearing some moral responsibility for what emerges, which I expect to be very unsavory.

TB: So you are supporting the Obama position?

DP: Yes, though he reaches it with far more angst. Also, there appears to be some serious, clandestine U.S. support for the rebel forces. The September 11 meeting in Benghazi between the Turkish and the American ambassadors was very curious. They are both based in Tripoli, hundreds of miles away. What were they doing in Benghazi? Arranging for American arms going via Turkey to Syria, it appears.

TB: How important has Israel been to the revival of Islam?

DP: It is a major factor in the neighboring states. But elsewhere, in Morocco, Iran, Malaysia, it has minor importance.

TB: Since the "Arab Spring," Israel seems increasingly beleaguered.

DP: Not really, not yet, though I agree that it will be more beleaguered with time. Its neighbors are so consumed with their own affairs that they hardly pay Israel attention. But once the neighbors get their houses in order, Israel will most likely face new difficulties.

TB: You have questioned U.S. support for Islamic democracy, which does seem naïve.

DP: The U.S. has been the patron for democracy for a century, since Wilson's 14 Points, and a wonderful heritage it has been. When an American travels the world, he finds himself in country after country where his country played a monumentally positive role, especially in democratizing the system. We naturally want to extend this to Muslim-majority countries. Sadly, these for some time have offered an unpleasant choice between brutal and greedy dictators or ideological, extreme, and antagonistic elected Islamists. It's not a choice we should accept.

TB: So what should we do?

DP: I offer three simple guidelines. One, always oppose the Islamists. Like fascists and Communists, they are the totalitarian enemy, whether they wear long beards in Pakistan or suits in Washington.

Two, always support the liberal, modern, secular people who share our worldview. They look to us for moral and other sustenance; we should be true to them. They are not that strong, and cannot take power soon anywhere, but they represent hope, offering the Muslim world's only prospect of escape from the dreary dichotomy of dictatorship or extremism.

Three, and more difficult, cooperate with dictators but condition it on pushing them toward reform and opening up. We need the Mubaraks of the world and they need us. Fine, but relentlessly keep the pressure on them to improve their rule. Had we begun this process with Abdullah Saleh of Yemen in 1978 or with Mubarak in 1981, things could have been very different by 2011. But we didn't.

TB: Egypt might be the test case.

DP: Well, it's a bit late. Mohammed Morsi is not a greedy dictator but he emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood, and his efforts since reaching power have been purely Islamist.

TB: What about the recent elections?

DP: I do not believe that a single one of the elections and referenda in Egypt was fairly conducted. It surprises me that Western governments and media are so gullible on this score.

TB: You could say we were supporting the democracy element in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Were we not?

DP: Yes and rightly so. The initial demonstrations of early 2011 were spearheaded by the liberals and seculars who deserve U.S. support. But they got quickly pushed aside and Washington barely paid them further attention.

TB: We gave foreign aid to Mubarak. Was that a bad idea?

DP: That aid dates back to the utterly different circumstances of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty of 1979 and became progressively more wrong-headed. It should long ago have been discontinued. More broadly, I believe in aid for emergencies (soup and blankets) and as a bribe, but not for economic development. That the Obama administration is contemplating aid, including military hardware, to the Morsi government outrages me.

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Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: BARBRO EHNBOM [redacted]
Sent: 8/20/2012 1:23:57 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: [redacted] -

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----------MB_8CF4CEE30021577_1404_1A68F7_webmail-d082.sysops.aol.com
Content-Transfer-Encoding: QUOTED-PRINTABLE
Content-Type: TEXT/PLAIN;
       charset=utf-8
```

How about this year's SALSS Project Manager [redacted] - brainy and sen=
sual!

Picture attached!

Barbro C. Ehnbom =20

Chairman, Swedish-American Life Science Summit

Office: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Sweden: [redacted]
360 E. 55 St. #10G
New York, N.Y. 10022

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Barbro C Ehnbom [redacted]
Sent: Mon, Aug 20, 2012 2:32 pm
Subject: Re: Program & Attendee list

who is you r wife choice this year?

On Sat, Aug 18, 2012 at 12:11 PM, Barbro C Ehnbom [redacted] wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

I am sorry I did not call back Yesterday-I was exhausted from a crazy week =
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Marcus has two big concerts in Stockholm this coming week. Me - SALSS!

KRAM
BE

Barbro C. Ehnbom
Sent from iPad=20

Vidarebefordrat brev:

Fr=C3=A5n: Cecilia Sch=C3=B6tt [redacted]
Datum: August 18, 2012 8:44:29 AM GMT+02:00
Till: Barbro Ehnbom [redacted]
=C3=84mne: Program & Attendee list

--=20
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       charset=utf-8

<font color=3D'black' size=3D'2' face=3D'Arial, Helvetica, sans-serif'>
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<div>&nbsp;</div>

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s, serif">Barbro C. Ehnbom&nbsp;</font></span></font>=20

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<div><font class=3D"Apple-style-span" face=3D"'Times New Roman', Times, ser=
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serif"><font class=3D"Apple-style-span" color=3D"#808080">Sweden:</font></f=
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if"><font class=3D"Apple-style-span" color=3D"#808080">360 E. 55 St. #10G</=
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<div style=3D"color: black; font-family: arial,helvetica; font-size: 10pt;"=
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To: Barbro C Ehnbom &lt;[redacted]&gt;<br>
Sent: Mon, Aug 20, 2012 2:32 pm<br>
Subject: Re: Program &amp; Attendee list<br>
<br>




<div id=3D"AOLMsgPart_1_db1eda89-b080-44b8-8542-b5d340fb9ecc">

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<br>

<div class=3D"gmail_quote">On Sat, Aug 18, 2012 at 12:11 PM, Barbro C Ehnbo=
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/a>&gt;</span> wrote:<br>

<blockquote style=3D"margin: 0px 0px 0px 0.8ex; padding-left: 1ex; border-l=
eft-color: rgb(204, 204, 204); border-left-width: 1px; border-left-style: s=
olid;" class=3D"gmail_quote">
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</div>

<div>KRAM</div>

<div>BE</div>

<div><br>

Barbro C. Ehnbom
<div>Sent from iPad&nbsp;</div>
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<div><br>
Vidarebefordrat brev:<br>
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<blockquote type=3D"cite">
<div><b>Fr=C3=A5n:</b> Cecilia Sch=C3=B6tt &lt;<a href=3D"mailto:[redacted]
[redacted]>[redacted]</a>&gt;<br>

<b>Datum:</b> August 18, 2012 8:44:29 AM GMT+02:00<br>
<b>Till:</b> Barbro Ehnbom &lt;<a href=3D"mailto:[redacted]>[redacted]
[redacted]
<b>=C3=84mne:</b> <b>Program &amp; Attendee list</b><br>
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return e-mail or by e-mail to <a href=3D"mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com">jeev=
acation@gmail.com</a>, and<br>
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Content-Type: IMAGE/JPEG;
       name=Be_Sana_1.jpg
X-Apple-Content-Length: 93624


----------MB_8CF4CEE30021577_1404_1A68F6_webmail-d082.sysops.aol.com--
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Date: Thursday, July 26 2012 06:30 PM
Subject: Re: press
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted];

i would appreciate it if you would stop being aggressive and accusatory, with me.

On Thu, Jul 26, 2012 at 2:08 PM, [redacted] wrote:

> I told you I wasn't when you asked and then ignored me.
> What do you need?
>
> On Jul 26, 2012, at 6:23 AM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> > I have not seen this, not my doing. as you guessed I am not very well.. I hope you are. i believe in you.
> >
> > On Wed, Jul 25, 2012 at 7:32 PM, [redacted] wrote:
> >
> > > I am glad to see you managed to find a way to improve your reputation in the press. Your concern and charitable contributions are touching...
> > > You forgot about everyone else your actions affected and the promises you made to fix it, but you clearly make an effort to improve your own image with contributions you can parade in the press. Congratulations.
> > > I suppose the few people who actually cared enough to put their lives and reputation on the line for you can fend for themselves. I will never understand your priorities...
> > >
> > > Have a nice trip.
> > >
> > > **News**
> > >
> > > Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** And Mount Sinai Hospital Support 3D Mammograms ...
> > > PressReleaseNetwork.com (press release)
> > > Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** And Mount Sinai Hospital Support 3D Mammograms For Breast Cancer. 25 Jul 2012 16:26 GMT - Financier **Jeffrey Epstein** helps fund one of the few 3D mammograms available around the world. /EINPresswire.com/The Dubin Breast ...
> > > See all stories on this topic »
> > >
> > > Early Detection Of Diabetes In Teeth Is Funded By Columbia University And ...
> > > EIN News (press release)
> > > /EINPresswire.com/ A recent study published in the Journal of Dental Research at Columbia University College of Dental Medicine (CDM) and backed by The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation amongst others; found that a pre-diabetes determination can be made ...
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Music As A Remedy For Parkinson's Gets Funding From Harvard University And...

MarketWatch (press release)

"The results are remarkable," **Jeffrey Epstein** asserted. "More studies need to be done to show that music improves motor coordination. However, these studies highlight how areas in the auditory cortex are affected, providing a road map for how to **...**

See all stories on this topic »

Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor ...

U.S. Politics Today

Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor, **Jeffrey Epstein**. Press release distribution provided by US Politics Today.

World's Smartest Think Tank Gets Substantial Backing from The **Jeffrey Epstein...**

Sacramento Bee

PRNewswire/ -- What has been dubbed %22the world's smartest website%22 and think tank from the UK's Guardian and Observer, The Edge Foundation, has just received substantial backing from science philanthropist and Edge member, **Jeffrey Epstein**, **...**

A Genetic Approach For Crohn's And Colitis Disease Is Financed By The **Jeffrey...**

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Charter Schools In Washington DC Given A Boost By Education Philanthropist ...

MarketWatch (press release)

The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation which helped fund these schools, was established in 2000 to support science education throughout the United States but has evolved to support inner city and youth based education. "Charter schools, though generally **...**

Largest School In Haiti To Be Built With The Support Of The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI ...

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NEW YORK, June 19, 2012 /PRNewswire via COMTEX/ -- The largest grade school in Haiti, called Ecole du Bel-Air, is currently under construction in the country's capital, Port-au-Prince, thanks to The Edeyo Foundation and the support of The **Jeffrey ...**

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Date: Thursday, July 26 2012 06:12 PM
Subject: Re: press
From: Jeffrey <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: [redacted]

Quiet

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=

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:59:08 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Forgot to ask you – pls have someone from your office confirm 2 tickets for LifeBall for you.
Also provide them with a name of the girl that you are talking.
One the pdf that I sent you there is a contact info and refer to the email below (Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]]

And she is holding them for you.
Please do it asap as these are hard to get.

B

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 4:27 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey

call me now [redacted]

On Mon, May 7, 2012 at 7:21 PM, Boris Nikolic <[redacted]> wrote:

It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).

Guy below is a good friend and he is a CEO of amFAR (amFAR has a joined dinner) – so he helped.

The nice thing about these tickets is that they are the most VIP. It includes reception, dinner, gala and after all party access.

I have the same ones (through Bill).

I also got two additional for you but it turns out that they are not the same level so I reached to Kevin for help.

The price is 2,500Euro per ticket (this is very reduced price as I think the regular one for this is 15K and it is hard to get it). They will need an email from someone from your office and name a your guest asap.

The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!

Boris

From: Kevin Frost [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Tix for Jeffrey
Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,

Lena

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:53 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Please call me at [redacted]

My number is blocked and it does not go through when I am calling you

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The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!

Boris

From: Kevin Frost [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM

To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Tix for Jeffrey
Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,

Lena

--
****
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Eva is my friend there who will host us. She is very close friend with Mette as well.
Eva and I are still trying to get Mette to join at the last moment.
She and her family own 80% or so of Austrian media (Heute etc). She is describing program below.
The plan would be that we arrive to Vienna on Thursday 17th mid day.

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito and we go to that.

ON Friday Eva is organizing a dinner/reception with her friends. We can schedule some other meetings/visits during day.

On Saturday the night starts at 5pm and goes through early next morning.

I leave first flight Sunday morning for San Francisco to meet Bill.
If you are staying in Vienna and have time (and like Eva) you should go to her brunch.

How this seems to you???

B

-----Original Message-----
From: Eva Dichand [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 5:51 AM
To: 'Cavan Mahony'; Boris Nikolic; [redacted]
Subject: WG: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Hallo everybody!

Attached (sorry in Germain) the Programm fort he lifeball on the 19th.
Actually there will be a Galadinner with our prime minister and Bill Clinton and all kinds of stars in the Hofburg (former Imerial estate - very impressive to see from inside)) It is only 250 people,. A seated dinner and more upscale than the rest oft he evening. It start's at 5pm with a Champagne cocktail and from there we go directly to the opening oft he ball where we'll have a really cool Box first row!!

Dresscode: actually the lifeball is really crazy and 'half naked' We always do a intermediare because otherwise you feel like an idiot at the Amfar Gala dinner before. People now don't wear Tuxedos anymore. Christoph wear's normal black trouseres with a white shirt and a dar sakko because he doesn't want to be in any crazy stuff on all the pics. Half oft he people oft he gala dinenr also waer some 'little' crazy stuff like pink velvet sakkos (and a mask for later) or so. girls: Crazy as you like. There are a lot of atrists that are really dressed up. I will wear a quiet see-through short dress with high high heels+ a chanel Tatoo and will take a face mask fort he ball later.

So I hope this helped at least a little bit. For pics got to: lifeball.org

Friday night: We would like to invite you all for dinner and will organize a nice place with a cool bar. Aress follows. Pls let me know who wants to join!!

Sunday: I'm very sure we'll be dead :-) BUT we would like to invite you to our house/garden/pool (swimmwear) for brunch starting at 11. Fürfanggasse 4, 1190 Wien. From hotel Sachen max. 15 min with Taxi. If you fly late we can walk from our house to one oft he famous Austrian heurigen ...and get some more alcholic to drink :-) :-)

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito. Very hard to get tickets but for 2 of you I could still organize (hopefully9 if some of you already arrive on Thursday.

Big kiss to everbody...I promise you...not often you will have seen something that crazy :-)

Eva

Dr. Eva Dichand
Herausgeberin

Heute - Kein Morgen ohne Heute
AHVV Verlags GmbH
Heiligenstädter Lände 29/Top 6
1190 Wien
T: [redacted]
F:
e.[redacted]
www.heute.at

-----Ursprüngliche Nachricht-----
Von: Manuela Wieland [mailto:m.wieland@heute.at]
Gesendet: Montag, 07. Mai 2012 13:45
An: e.dichand@heute.at
Betreff: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Liebe Frau Dichand,

anbei der Zeitablauf von der AMFAR Gala 2012 am 19.5.2012.
LG MW

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:07 PM
To: Boris Nikolic[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image003.jpg

call me now[redacted]

On Mon, May 7, 2012 at 7:21 PM, Boris Nikolic <[redacted]> wrote:

> It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).
>
> Guy below is a good friend and he is a CEO of amFAR (amFAR has a joined dinner) – so he helped.
>
> The nice thing about these tickets is that they are the most VIP. It includes reception, dinner, gala and after all party access.
>
> I have the same ones (through Bill).
>
> I also got two additional for you but it turns out that they are not the same level so I reached to Kevin for help.
>
> The price is 2,500Euro per ticket (this is very reduced price as I think the regular one for this is 15K and it is hard to get it). They will need an email from someone from your office and name a your guest asap.
>
> The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!
>
> Boris
>
> ---
>
> **From:** Kevin Frost [mailto[redacted]
> **Sent:** Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM
> **To:** Boris Nikolic
> **Subject:** Tix for Jeffrey
> **Importance:** High
>
> Boris:
>
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Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

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Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,
Lena

--
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:21:03 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image003.jpg; Auktionsblatt.pdf; TXT AIDS Solidarity Gala_E.pdf

Importance: High

It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).
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Kevin Robert Frost

Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
212.806.1633

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

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All the best,
Lena

From: Bob Crowe [redacted]
Sent: 3/11/2016 12:24:18 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: FW: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade
Attachments: image001.gif

Robert B. Crowe Partner| Nelson Mullins
One Post Office Square, 30th Fl., Boston, MA 02109
101 Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001
[redacted]

From: abuulabass [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 02, 2016 12:31 PM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; elisabeth feliho
Cc: Bob Crowe; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations Vinoda ! The French version of the paper was published today in the Senegalese major newspapers. You can see it also in Seneweb.com .
Many thanks for the good work with my best regards.
Tidiane
Envoyé depuis mon appareil Samsung

-------- Message d'origine --------
De : Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>
Date : 02/03/2016 16:20 (GMT+00:00)
À : elisabeth feliho <[redacted]>
Cc : Bob Crowe <[redacted]>, Cheikh Tidiane Sy <[redacted]>, Mohamed Seydou Diagne <[redacted]>, El Hadji Amadou Sall <[redacted]>
Objet : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

We have had some positive feedback from the article. Now the issue certainly has more visibility in Washington. Bob is in the process of setting up the meeting with Tom at the State Dept regarding the Human Rights Report for 2016. Will send more as we get more details.

Vinoda

Vinoda Basnayake
Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations
[redacted]

Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP
101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: [redacted]
Fax:

www.nelsonmullins.com
(View Bio)

From: elisabeth feliho [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, February 29, 2016 6:29 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake
Cc: Bob Crowe; Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Re: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations!!! Can we share this with the press here?

Best regards.

EF

2016-02-26 13:04 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:
Great news, the piece was published in The Hill this morning-
http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international/270878-senegals-democratic-backslide

We can share this w Congress and State.

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 26, 2016, at 6:06 AM, elisabeth feliho <[redacted]> wrote:

Excellent!!!

2016-02-24 20:13 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:
We are working on getting the following article placed in the Hill or the Politico within the next week. As of now it looks like former Chairman of Armed Services, Congressman Ron Dellums, will be the author. Please keep highly confidential. Will keep you posted on if, when and where it gets published. Once it is published we can all circulate it highly. We believe that this article sets the tone for the advocacy we will be doing and having someone very prominent like Congressman Dellums will also be a great way to launch this campaign.

Congressman Ronald Dellums is a thirteen term Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA) who served from 1971-1998. He also served as the 48th Mayor of Oakland from 2007-2011. Dellums served as the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and the House Committee on the District of Columbia. He also served on the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and co-founded the Congressional Black Caucus.

Senegal's Democratic Backslide

2015 was a banner year for democracy in Africa. Nigeria, the largest country on the continent, had a democratic election, and even more impressively, had its first ever peaceful transition of power when sitting President Goodluck Jonathan transferred power to Muhammadu Buhari. Former President Jonathan conceded and famously declared, "Nobody's ambition is worth the blood of any Nigerian." My last piece for ***The Hill*** was titled, *'Will Guinea's experiment in democracy succeed?*" It is with great joy that I can report that it did! Guinea's first democratically elected President, Alpha Conde, won his reelection campaign in a peaceful election that was internationally monitored in which the Guinean electorate reaffirmed its commitment to a democracy.

Despite these victories for democracy in a continent in which I dedicated a great deal of my life's work, I am deeply troubled by developments over the last few weeks. Earlier this week Uganda President Yoweri Museveni extended his thirty year rule and "won" his fifth consecutive election which international observers said was marred with intimidation and impropriety. Shortly after the election Museveni, who scrapped constitutional term limits a decade ago, had his political rival, Kizza Besigye arrested and detained for protesting the election results. Of course we have come to expect these actions from Museveni in Uganda. What I am even most troubled by is what is taking place in Senegal, which was once the pillar of democracy in Africa.

When Abdoulaye Wade was democratically elected as President of Senegal in 2000, it was a huge step forward for democracy in Africa. President Wade adopted a new constitution and instituted term limits for the first time in Senegalese history. In 2012 President Wade was defeated in a democratic election by his Prime Minister Macky Sall. The United States and the larger international community praised Wade for his quick concession and praised peaceful transition of power. President Macky Sall affirmed his commitment to democracy announcing that he would shorten term limits from 7 to 5 years. President Obama visited Senegal in June of 2013 and praised President Sall for his commitment to democracy in shortening the presidential mandate and praised the country's rule of law.

Unfortunately in the past few years much has changed and we are witnessing a backslide in what was once Africa's brightest democratic success story. When the opposition party, the Senegalese Democratic Party, designated former President Abdoulaye Wade' son, former Minister Karim Wade, as their candidate for the next presidential election; President Sall had Karim Wade arrested and detained. President Macky Sall then reestablished a special court by presidential decree that had been abolished by Senegalese law and not heard a case in thirty years. This newly established special court sentenced Mr. Wade to six years in prison. He remains in prison today, sentenced without appeal. In April 2015, the United Nations Working Group of Arbitrary Detention determined that Mr. Wade was arbitrarily arrested and that his detention was in violation of international law. Last month the UN Working Group reaffirmed its finding and called on President Sall's regime to release Karim Wade and comply with international law. Sall has ignored the UN Working Groups request.

Last week the backslide continued even further as President Macky Sall reneged on his commitment to shorten term limits. Instead of holding elections next year, after five years per his commitment, he announced that he would serve until 2019. He claims that this decision was based on the opinion - just an opinion - of the Constitutional Council that he had himself sought.

In light of the trend toward democracy in Africa as exemplified by Nigeria and Guinea, it is very concerning that one of the United States' closest allies and Africa's strongest democracies appears to be retrogressing. The destabilization of democracy in Senegal could have significant consequences in the entire region. The United

States must get in front of this negative trend before spreads across Africa and it is too late. The U.S. should call for President Sall to honor the request of the UN Working Group and release his political rival Mr. Wade and also keep his pledge of a 5 year presidential mandate. President Obama has said that Africa is more important than ever to security and prosperity in the U.S. We have worked very hard in implementing and prioritizing democracy and democratic succession in Africa. The Obama administration must not let our hard work be compromised in Senegal, we have worked too hard and come too far.

<image001.gif>
Vinoda Basnayake
Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations
[redacted]
Nelson Mullins Riley & Scarborough LLP
101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

www.nelsonmullins.com
(View Bio)

From: elisabeth feliho [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 23, 2016 5:20 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; Bob Crowe
Cc: Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Dear Vinoda and Bob,

Please see attached the last version of the revised draft letter. We have made some modifications and amendments we submit to your proposal. You can finalize the letter as it suits you. We strongly recommend to wait Wednesday or Tuesday this week before sending the letter as Amnesty International will issue on Wednesday 24th February its worldwide report on human right situation. It is highly probable that major statement will be made on Mr. Wade case in the report on Senegal, which will give us more input for the letter.

Many thanks and best regards.

EF

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From: Dangene and Jennie Enterprise [redacted]
Sent: 2/19/2016 2:23:22 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: TRUMP / POPE SCORECARD .....
Attachments: EWLarge2.jpg

TRUMP 1 POPE 0

CORE: Jennie Enterprise |
@dandjenterprise | Founder & Chairman | 66 East 55th Street New York NY 10022 | Main:
[redacted]
[redacted] |
www.coreaccess.net |

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 3/23/2012 7:10:58 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: World Bank Nominee
Attachments: image005.jpg; image006.jpg

The Atlantic Home
Friday, March 23, 2012

- Politics

Massoud Hayoun - Massoud Hayoun writes for and produces *The Atlantic*'s International channel.

How Jim Yong Kim, Obama's World Bank Pick, Changed Global Health Aid

By Massoud Hayoun
Mar 23 2012, 2:04 PM ET

The international public health work that made Kim, now the president's nominee for World Bank head, such a respected figure.

President Obama introduces Jim Yong Kim as his nominee to be the next president of the World Bank / Reuters

President Obama announced today that he will nominate Dartmouth College President Jim Yong Kim to head the World Bank. Although Kim is a physician by training, officials have observed that Kim's role as a key player in global health and development, notably with his role in the organization Partners in Health (PIH), makes him a key candidate to change the attitudes of developing-world nations.

The following excerpts from Tracy Kidder's *Mountains Beyond Mountains*, a biography of anthropologist and physician Paul Farmer, detail Kim's bold efforts to combat international HIV and tuberculosis epidemics with PIH:

Some months after the official founding of PIH, [co-founder] Paul Farmer expanded the group, adding a fellow Harvard anthropology and medical student, a Korean American named Jim Yong Kim... Farmer offered what for Jim Kim was a convincing vision of the new organization. The reality was less impressive -- a charity with a board of advisers and no hired staff...

They talked about issues such as political correctness, which Jim Kim defined as follows: "It's a very well-crafted tool to distract us. A very self-centered activity. Clean up your own vocabulary so you can show everybody you have the social capital of having been in circles where these things are talked about on a regular basis." (What was an example of political correctness? Some academic types would say to Jim and Paul, "Why do you call your patients poor people? They don't call themselves poor people." Jim would reply: "Okay, how about soon-dead people?")

They talked about the insignificance of "cultural barriers" when it came to the Haitian peasant's acceptance of modern Western medicine: "There's nothing like a cure for a disease to change people's cultural values"...

By now Peru was taxing PIH's resources severely. On average, the drugs to treat just one patient cost between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars. And the number of patients kept growing. Already there were about fifty Carabayllanos in treatment. Their average age was twenty-nine. They were students, unemployed youths, housewives, street vendors, bus drivers, health workers. The actual numbers seemed small, but those fifty MDR [a form of tuberculosis that does not respond to standard treatment] cases represented about 10 percent of all active cases of TB in the slum, about ten times more than might have been expected. No telling how many others they had been infecting as they'd traveled around Lima, coughing. No telling either how many people in other parts of the city already had MDR, but [there were] reports of hundreds in other neighborhoods. In Carabayllo itself, the Socios workers found entire families sick and dying with what turned out to be genetically related strains of the disease--a phenomenon common enough that the health workers gave it a name, familias tebeceanas, tuberculosis families.

Kim's organization confronted Peru's MDR-form tuberculosis epidemic with what some have called unorthodox practices -- borrowing and cajoling its way into medicine for its patients.

Howard Hiatt, a friend of Jim Yong Kim's and a former dean at the Harvard School of Public Health, said he was concerned about how PIH was getting medicine to combat the epidemic:

"Sure enough. Paul and Jim would stop at the [Harvard-affiliated] Brigham pharmacy before they left for Peru and fill their briefcases with drugs. They had sweet-talked various people into letting them walk away with the drugs." [Hiatt] was amused, all in all. "That's their Robin Hood attitude." In fact, they'd only borrowed the drugs...

Then one day the president of the Brigham stopped Hiatt in a corridor. "Your friends Farmer and Kim are in trouble with me. They owe this hospital ninety-two thousand dollars." Hiatt looked into the matter. "Sure enough. Paul and Jim would stop at the Brigham pharmacy before they left for Peru and fill their briefcases with drugs. They had sweet-talked various people into letting them walk away with the drugs." He was amused, all in all. "That's their Robin Hood attitude."

To many seasoned managers of public health projects, what Farmer and Kim were doing would have looked quite reckless--like a stunt, as some would later insinuate. They didn't have a guaranteed supply of drugs, only the determination to obtain the drugs and the charm to get away with borrowing. They were borrowing their laboratory services, too, from Massachusetts. They lacked proper institutional support. The weight of expert opinion stood against them. Their organization was small and it had other projects, in Haiti and Boston and elsewhere, and Peru put a strain on everyone. Jim had to travel to Carabayllo at least once a month. Farmer had to go there slightly more often.

Kim's audacious 'Robin Hood attitude' won him and PIH acclaim for their role in changing global health and development.

In June 2002 ... the WHO adopted new prescriptions for dealing with MDR-TB, virtually the same as PIH had used in Carabayllo. For Jim Kim this marked the end of a long campaign. "The world changed yesterday," he wrote from Geneva to all of PIH. The prices of second-line antibiotics continued to decline, and the drugs now flowed fairly smoothly through the Green Light Committee to, among other places, Peru, where about 1,000 chronic patients were either cured or in treatment. About 250 were receiving the drugs in Tomsk, and, largely because of the efforts of WHO, the Russian Ministry of Health had finally agreed to the terms of the World Bank's TB loan--150 million dollars to begin to fight the epidemic throughout the country.

The twin pandemics of AIDS and tuberculosis raged on, of course, magnifying each other, in Africa and Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. Mathematical models predicted widening global catastrophe--100 million HIV infections in the world by the year 2010. Some prominent voices, some in the U.S. government, still argued that AIDS could not be treated in desperately impoverished places. But this view seemed to be fading. The prices of antiretrovirals were falling, even more dramatically than the prices of second-line TB drugs.

This was thanks to a growing worldwide campaign for treating AIDS wherever it occurred. Jim Kim had often said that the world's response to AIDS and TB would define the moral standing of his generation. In 2003, a new director general took over at WHO, and he asked Jim to serve as his senior adviser. Meanwhile, the example of Zanmi Lasante [PIH's Haiti-based project] was growing, and Cange had become a favorite destination for global health policy makers and American politicians.

Date: Monday, March 19 2012 05:59 PM
Subject: 2 Seminars-MONEY & POWER possible Invite List
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein CC <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Seminar-MONEY

Marc Andreesen

Paul Batista (Not sure this is who you mean)

Jeff Bezos

Sergey Brin

Bill Gates

Danny Hillis

Danny Kahneman

Jaron Lanier

Dick Merkin (?)

Michael Milken (?)

Nathan Myhrvold

Boris Nikolic

Larry Page

Tom Pritzker

Eric Schmidt

Jim Simons

Jes Staley

Peter Thiel

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

Seminar-POWER

Bill Clinton

Howard Gardner

Bill Gates

George Mitchell

Michael Ovitz

Igor (? Not sure who this is)

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/23/2012 2:54:42 PM
To: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]]

dershowiz tells me obama called him to ask him what was going on in israel. ? we should discuss.

--
****
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including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/12/2012 4:57:10 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

yes

On Thu, Jan 12, 2012 at 4:23 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:

> you want me to call Tarek, instead? just to confirm.
>
> In a message dated 1/12/2012 10:21:24 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:
>
>> Call
>>
>> Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone
>>
>> On Jan 12, 2012, at 4:12 PM, [redacted] wrote:
>>
>> Jeffrey,
>> this may be a long shot to save the Boeing deal, or if you think its a dead deal, disregard this.
>> I thought there was a connection between Tarek and myself, I do believe one concern was operation of Boeing with flight crew. I know its his problem not ours, but may help make the sale happen,.
>> I wrote this email for your review, if you think its worth sending, please critique, and let me know,. thank you:
>>
>> Mr. Tarek El Sayed,
>>
>> I hope this email finds you well, and believe worth communicating my thoughts to you.
>>
>> I was surprised to hear that you decided against the purchase of our Super Boeing 727. I personally thought it was a great match for your business needs in Qatar. If for any reason your decision was based on crew issues and charter needs in the Middle East, I'd like to share some information that might prove beneficial to making you reconsider this purchase.
>>
>> The pilot candidates I have lined up for your interview along with the possibility of David Rodgers joining your flight department were as follows:
>>
>> (at no time did I disclose location or persons to the following pilot candidates to protect your privacy.)
>>
>> Robert Breslin, who is the former Chief Pilot of Mr. Donald Trump, Mr. Breslin flew the Boeing 727 and Boeing 757 owned by Mr Trump. Mr Breslin is a fine man of 40 years of age estimate, with extensive VIP Boeing operations.
>>
>> James Bartakowski, who has extensive flying experience in the Middle east, Africa and Europe régime. Mr. Bartakowski has also been involved in charter operations in Africa and Middle East and has contacted me on several recent occasions with charters for our Boeing 727, James has indicated there is the possibility of 40 – 60 hours per month charter operations for larger transport category aircraft in your area. I believe there is a growing need for charter in the business community in Qatar and neighboring countries.
>>
>> Bruce Jafahri, who is a current Boeing 727 captain who lived in Doha for two years, and familiar with international operations of Boeing 727 aircraft. Mr. Jafahri currently lives in California and ready for a new opportunity. Bruce is current in the Boeing 727 and also flew Captain on the Boeing 747. Well qualified individual and personable.
>>
>> Mr. El Sayed, as you have seen during our demo flight, our Boeing 727 is in impeccable condition, quite cabin and will provide many years of charter and business flights your company. I believe the large business jet future in Qatar is growing and you will be leading its path, and your initial investment in this purchase will not come close with other aircraft options on the market as you may have seen already.
>>
>> We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.

> Sincerely,
>
> Lawrance Visoski
>
> Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.
>
> =

--
****
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---

From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/12/2012 3:23:25 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

you want me to call Tarek, instead? just to confirm.

In a message dated 1/12/2012 10:21:24 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

> Call
>
> Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Jan 12, 2012, at 4:12 PM, [redacted] wrote:
>
> Jeffrey,
> this may be a long shot to save the Boeing deal, or if you think its a dead deal, disregard this.
> I thought there was a connection between Tarek and myself, I do believe one concern was operation of Boeing with flight crew. I know its his problem not ours, but may help make the sale happen,.
> I wrote this email for your review, if you think its worth sending, please critique, and let me know,. thank you:
>
> Mr. Tarek El Sayed,
>
> I hope this email finds you well, and believe worth communicating my thoughts to you.
>
> I was surprised to hear that you decided against the purchase of our Super Boeing 727. I personally thought it was a great match for your business needs in Qatar. If for any reason your decision was based on crew issues and charter needs in the Middle East, I'd like to share some information that might prove beneficial to making you reconsider this purchase.
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> We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.
>
> Sincerely,

> Lawrance Visoski
>
> Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.
>
> =

From: Faith Kates [[redacted]]
Sent: 5/18/2016 5:45:03 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Warning: The smart money is fleeing U.S. stocks

Importance: High

May 18, 2016

Warning: The Smart Money Is Fleeing U.S. Stocks

BY BILL BONNER, CHAIRMAN, BONNER & PARTNERS

DUBLIN – The Dow dropped 180 points yesterday – or about 1%.

And another clever billionaire says he is looking elsewhere for profits. Reuters:

Activist investor Carl Icahn on Monday said there was a chance the stock market could suffer a big decline, saying valuations are rich and earnings at many companies are fueled more by low borrowing costs than management's efforts to boost results.

"I am very cautious on equities today. This market could easily have a big drop," Icahn said.

Yes, dear reader, the smart money is getting out of U.S. stocks. And here's our old friend Rob Marstrand explaining why:

Right now, every measure that analyzes the S&P 500 says it's expensive. Prices are high relative to earnings, net assets, sales, and cash flow.

What's more, there's plenty of evidence that the main thing propping up the stock prices is heavy buying by the companies themselves [via share repurchases].

And now, that prop is getting kicked out from under the stock market. Bloomberg:

After snapping up trillions of dollars of their own stock in a five-year shopping binge that dwarfed every other buyer, U.S. companies from Apple Inc. to IBM Corp. just put on the brakes.

Announced repurchases dropped 38% to $244 billion in the last four months, the biggest decline since 2009…

Recommended Links

Rickards: "Warning, I've Changed My Thesis On Gold"
I firmly believe we're at the beginning of the BIGGEST move the world has ever seen in gold. "Simple math" says $10,000 gold is all but certain. But, you're not going to believe what I have to say next... **BEFORE you buy a single ounce of gold, read this important message.**

Last Chance: VIP Access To Doug Casey's Shocking 2016 Forecast
Casey fears a severe crisis is brewing. Not a currency collapse or stock market crash. A specific threat that could wreak more havoc than the Great Depression. That's why tomorrow, in an urgent broadcast event, Doug's pulling back the curtain on his shocking warning. And revealing how to profit from it in the months ahead, in a big way. Last chance to get VIP access ends tonight. **Click here now for full details**.

Pareto's "Foxes"

Although the bull market in U.S. stocks is probably near its end, the bull market in the Deep State shows no sign of weakening.

Year after year, the power of the “foxes” grows.

It was the great Italian economist Vilfredo Pareto who noticed – among other things – that no matter what kind of government you think you have, there are always some crafty insiders, the “foxes,” who take control of it.

Policies are set, programs are started… decisions are made… with no consent of the people or their elected officials; the foxes work the angles.

Over time, the forces of law and order become more and more corrupt… as the foxes bend the entire system to do their bidding.

Wars are started with no plan or intention to win them. Money is handed out for no better reason than this: They can get away with it.

And best of all, most people are none the wiser; they believe the myths… and attack anyone who challenges them.

Rip-Off

Perhaps the biggest rip-off of all time has taken place over the last eight years – and in plain sight of everybody.

Via the magic of ultra-low rates, the Fed – a nest for the wiliest and most cunning of the foxes – took roughly $8 trillion out of the pockets of savers and retirees and handed it to borrowers.

Who is the world’s biggest borrower?

Yes… it’s the Deep State itself.

The Fed claimed to be helping to “stimulate” the economy. But you can’t really stimulate an economy by stealing from the people who produce wealth and provide it with capital.

Not surprisingly, growth has stalled. Wages have fallen. Productivity has stagnated.

For 95% of the male population, real earnings are lower today than they were in 1973.

Is there any wonder many of these men vote for Donald Trump – a "strong man" who promises to do something about it?

But the top 5% – where the foxes are – gained income. Their wages are up more than 50% over the same time.

Why?

Because they take more and more money from the rest of us.

More tomorrow… on a new Rebellion in Gualfin… and a measure of how big the Deep State has become…

Regards,

Bill

Further Reading: The Deep State already controls just about every aspect of American life. From health care to education to the food on our tables to the never-ending war on terror, this cadre of cronies is pulling the strings.

In his latest online presentation, Bill exposes how the Deep State has now pushed the world to the brink of an irreversible disaster. Learn more here as he reveals how it will all unfold… and, more importantly, how it'll change your life forever.

BY CHRIS LOWE, EDITOR AT LARGE

George Soros is betting big on gold.

As Bill reported yesterday, the billionaire speculator cut his firm's investments in U.S. stocks by more than one-third.

Soros has also disclosed a new stake in the world's biggest gold miner, Barrick Gold (ABX).

Soros Fund Management, his investment vehicle, bought a 1.7% of Barrick. This makes it Soros' biggest listed holding.

As today's chart shows, Barrick has skyrocketed so far in 2016.

The company's stock is up a jaw-dropping 156% year to date.

Recommended Links

Read this BEFORE you buy gold or gold stocks
Dr. Steve Sjuggerud Reports: Most investors don't know this, but there's a "Magic Number" that appears before EVERY big move in gold and EVERY big move in gold stocks. What is it and is now the time to buy? **Details here**...

Featured Reads

Gold Price to Soar More Than 650%?

One currencies expert says a "super spike" in gold prices is headed our way. Here, he explains what will cause it and, more importantly, how you can position yourself to profit.

Share Buybacks Fall Most Since 2009

U.S. share buybacks have fallen back to levels last seen in 2099. The news comes amid the worst profit slump since the financial crisis… and when valuations sit near 14-year highs.

Why “Money Helicopters” Are Not the Answer

Although “helicopter money” – code for handing out free money – is now being seriously discussed… what’s really needed to boost growth are major structural reforms. The fate of the world depends on it.

Recommended Links

Experience the Greatest Innovation in Shaving...for Free
You only have **9 days left** to enjoy the best shave of your life for **free**. Join thousands of men from around the world who are experiencing the unrivaled performance OneBlade technology offers. Don't miss out. Act now.

OneBlade – Rethought. Retooled. Rebuilt.

Mailbag

Readers continue to weigh in on the state of U.S. politics. Here are more responses to Monday’s issue, “Trump’s Biggest Deal.”

Sarah Palin will be the V.P. with Trump, and you may be surprised that they will have a balance budget within three years. And with Obamacare repealed, job killing regulations eliminated, and corporate tax rates cut, it will make the U.S. more business friendly.

— Christopher F.

> Good God! Anything is better than just giving it to Hilary and her despicable husband.
>
> **— Judy P.**

> Thanks for including Jefferson and von Mises, my favorite Galician, in the list of good guys. Our economy cannot be repaired without dismantling the Fed. As you often point out, our monetary system is rotten at the core, as it is based on credit.
>
> I read in one of these letters from a libertarian source that Jefferson wrote, already in 1810 or so, that he had failed to set up a free country as he envisioned… and that was still more than 100 years before the Federal Reserve Act.
>
> On the other hand, even today, I strongly believe that if we just followed the Constitution, we would be okay – especially the 10th amendment. I think that is the most important of all.
>
> **— Chaim K.**

> In the words of Warren Zevon, “Send lawyers, guns, and money; the s--- has hit the fan.”
>
> The Democratic Party is electing a known criminal, and they don’t care, as long as it’s their criminal. They just assume all politicians are criminal, and the really good ones get their districts what they need. Would anyone let Harry Reid babysit their children? The Republican Party is electing anybody who is not a politician. Donald Trump just happens to be the best known, “anybody” who is running.
>
> **— Wayde L.**

> All I can say about Bill's message on Monday is: "Amen, brother! Amen!" He hit every nail right on the head.
>
> To those self-deluding worthies who think that a Donald Trump presidency will solve all of America's problems I say, "Get your heads out of your collective a***s, because it ain't gonna happen."
>
> Trump will continue the policies (if we can laughably call them such) of the Deep State… with a dash of Adolph Hitler thrown in for good measure. Clinton will be no better, if not worse.
>
> I'm with Bill – a vote for the lesser of two evils is still voting for evil. However, unlike him, I will vote, but for a third-party candidate who doesn't have a snowball's chance of winning. A "wasted" vote is better than a vote for Trump or Hillary.
>
> **— Dale A.**

> I think you are correct in your assessment of the Deep State. I disagree in how to deal with it.
>
> It seems easy for the rich or the poor to walk away and state it doesn't matter. The poor because they do not have a choice; the rich because they do. For those of us in the middle we need to deal with it, lest we end up in the poor camp. For me, a decision that includes a less bad scenario is still a decision worth pursuing.
>
> **— Rudy R.**

In Case You Missed It...

The third part of Doug Casey's "virtual workshop" on how to turn crises into wildly profitable investments goes live today.

In it, Doug pulls back the curtain on his shocking forecast for America in 2016. And how he believes you could set yourself up to profit from it in a big way… with just one decisive move.

Go here to reserve your spot.

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Jeffrey Kogan
Kogan Realty Group
155 E 55th St., Ste 6-D
New York, NY 10022
TEL: [redacted]
FAX:

From: Flipboard Week in Review [editorialstaff@flipboard.com]
Sent: 7/13/2019 6:48:31 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Alex Acosta resigns, Jeffrey Epstein arrested and Trump ends bid for citizenship question on census

Flipboard

Biggest news stories from the past week.

Alex Acosta resigns as labor secretary amid intense scrutiny of his handling of Jeffrey Epstein case

washingtonpost.com / David Nakamura, John Wagner, Ashley Parker, Josh Dawsey Labor Secretary Alex Acosta's resignation Friday amid the mushrooming Jeffrey Epstein investigation made him the latest in a growing list of President… read more

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Financier in sex abuse case went from math whiz to titan

The linked image cannot be displayed. The file may have been moved, renamed, or deleted. Verify that the link points to the correct file and location.

apnews.com / MICHAEL R. SISAK and JIM MUSTIAN, Associated Press NEW YORK (AP) — He has rubbed elbows with a prince and flown a former president on his private jet. He amassed a fortune that includes a 100-acre island... read more

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Darroch's resignation may have chilling effect on diplomacy, experts warn

theguardian.com / Sabrina Siddiqui in Washington The resignation of Sir Kim Darroch as the UK's ambassador to the US after controversy over leaked memos in which he criticized Donald Trump could have a... read more

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Trump backs away from census citizenship question, orders agencies to hand over citizenship information to Commerce

The linked image cannot be displayed. The file may have been moved, renamed, or deleted. Verify that the link points to the correct file and location.

cnn.com / Kevin Liptak, Pamela Brown, Jim Acosta and Kaitlan Collins, CNN Washington (CNN) — President Donald Trump retreated from his quest to add a question about US citizenship to the 2020 census on Thursday, instead... read more

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Iran makes new nuclear threats that would reverse steps in pact

reuters.com / Babak Dehghanpisheh, Tuqa Khalid
GENEVA/DUBAI (Reuters) - Iran threatened on Monday to restart deactivated centrifuges and ramp up enrichment of uranium to 20% purity in a move away… read more

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Pro-impeachment billionaire Tom Steyer makes late entry into Democratic race

nbcnews.com / Alex Seitz-Wald The California hedge fund founder, who considered running earlier this year but pulled back, now joins a crowded field of more than 20 candidates.... read more

---

Trump Proposes Ways to Improve Care for Kidney Disease and Increase Transplants

nytimes.com / REED ABELSON and KATIE THOMAS President Trump issued a sweeping set of proposals aimed at improving medical care for the tens of millions of Americans who have kidney disease, a... read more

---

Billionaire and former presidential candidate Ross Perot dies at 89

cnbc.com / Kevin Breuninger Billionaire businessman, philanthropist and independent presidential candidate Ross Perot is dead at 89, CNBC has confirmed. Perot, who ran for ... read more

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House Judiciary approves subpoenas for 12 key witnesses, including Jared Kushner

politico.com / ANDREW DESIDERIO and KYLE CHENEY The House Judiciary Committee voted on Thursday to authorize subpoenas for 12 crucial witnesses as part of House Democrats' ongoing investigations... read more

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WATCH: Women's National Soccer Team Parades Through NYC's 'Canyon Of Heroes'

npr.org / Bill Chappell The U.S. Women's National Team is celebrating their World Cup championship with a ticker tape parade in New York City. Throngs of fans packed… read more

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InsightsPod

Gather, Visualize, Analyze Public Opinion to make Intelligent Decisions

Business Plan

Prepared September 2016

Contact Information
Zubair Khan
[redacted]
www.insightspod.com

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Executive Summary

Opportunity

Problem

The power of word of mouth is becoming more critical to businesses as has never been witnessed before. Negative aspects associated with a brand can leave a long-term impact on its reputation. If a customer is facing a problem with your product or service, the world is going to hear about it. On the contrary, social media has the ultimate ability to turn audiences into customers and communicate positive messages.

A marketer's worst nightmare is a social media campaign gone wrong. In such a situation, resources are diverted to fix the problem, disrupting the entire workflow. During a social media crisis, marketers are left with limited control over the market as the news spreads like wildfire. Businesses need to choose the right strategy and the most appropriate way to respond.

With an increase in social media, marketing has become a two-way conversation between brand and consumer. Customers demand businesses to be proactive and efficient to meet their demands and InsightsPod provides businesses with the data to do just that and more.

Solution

InsightsPod is an ambitious, innovative new company that is helping businesses, governments, and investors in analyzing opinions, sentiments, emotions, and attitudes of people from social media.

Imagine a customer leaves a bad review for your product. To improve your reputation and the overall customer experience, we help you identify which customer is dissatisfied in minutes. We help businesses determine a customer’s intent and buying habits.

Through the vast amounts of data available across social media, we not only help politicians to understand what their constituencies are talking about but also to influence people, track voters, and get them to vote.

Investors who predict stock behavior by interpreting the news and public sentiment make better trades. InsightsPod can give an insight into public sentiment quickly and can aid financial institutions, as well as individuals, to make sound investment decisions

InsightsPod offers advanced analytics to businesses for better marketing and product development decisions. Businesses can be aware of their product's demand, likability, strengths, and weaknesses. InsightsPod has the ability to study products and brands through social listening and customer engagement.

Market

Our primary market is:

- Well-known businesses such as Nike, McDonalds, Starbucks.
- Political parties - InsightsPod aims to provide consulting services to political parties. We can help political parties in improving their reputation and increase public following. InsightsPod aids in analyzing the data on social media and the opinions of the general public on the Internet. Likewise, individual political figures can examine the political landscape and the effects on their public image.
- Government sector - This mainly involves law enforcement agencies. InsightsPod can aid LEA in tracking criminals and terrorist activities. The platform can also provide data and analyze public opinion regarding various government projects and initiatives.
- Investors - Fluctuation in the stock market, global economic activities and their impacts on financial markets; all of this can be analyzed through InsightsPod.

Competition

Our main competitors in the market are:

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- IBM Watson Analytics: A data discovery service available on the cloud. It guides data exploration and automates predictive analytics.
- Lexatytics: Text Analytics company.
- Falcon.IO: Uses social media analytics to measure success. It also tracks channel performance, monitors response times and benchmark against competitors.

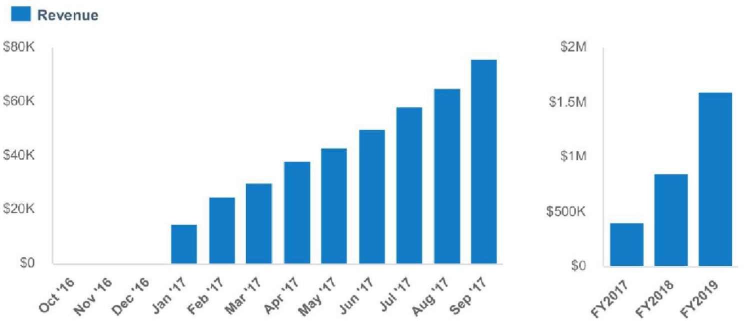
Our competitors are offering a variety of services but the distinguishing factor between us and the competitors is that we support 73 languages and offer location based sentiment analysis. We also support multiple data sources including Twitter, YouTube, Facebook and discussion boards.

Expectations

Forecast

We are projecting sales of $400,000 in Year 1, $850,000 in Year 2, and $1.6 million in Year 3 with a profit margin of 100%. This assumes we are serving around 20 customers in Year 1. Our co-founders will not draw any salary in the first 2 years so that we can reinvest our profits into growing the business. PR/Marketing and staff working on the product and business development will be our largest expense.

Revenue



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Financing Needed

Currently the business receives $8000 as funding by the founder every month. No loans have been taken. Founders are not taking any salaries and will not do so for another 2 years.

We are looking to raise $2.4 million at a $10 million valuation to scale. We require $800,000 per year for the next three years. The proceedings will be used to:

- Refine our sentiment analysis system (currently 5% false positives)

- Hire a PR firm

- Hire a Data Scientist

- Marketing and Sales (UK and US Market)

- Office space in London and San Francisco

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Opportunity

Problem & Solution

InsightsPod offers services such as marketing research, reports composed with said research, and plan consultation. The service is extremely relevant, timely, and accurate enabling clients to make informed decisions. Social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter are used to gather live feeds on which we run a sentiment analysis, and in turn, offer our clients a superior approach to market research. We provide the expertise to companies seeking the means to develop and improve their products and services. To improve a company's reputation and overall customer experience, we help identify which customer is dissatisfied in minutes. We help businesses determine a customer's intent and buying habits. Through the vast amounts of data available across social media, we not only help politicians to understand what their constituencies are talking about but also to influence people, track voters and get them to vote. Investors who predict stock behavior by interpreting the news and public sentiment make better trades. InsightsPod can give an insight into public sentiment quickly and can aid financial institutions, as well as individuals, to make sound investment decisions.

InsightsPod has already been tested during the recent EU referendum and it is currently evaluating public opinion on the two US presidential candidates; Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The results that InsightsPod produced during the referendum proved to be positive in favour of a Brexit, and a week later, Britain voted to leave the EU, indicating that our model was reliable. The final results of the referendum were the complete opposite of the poll projected figures; the Leave campaign won with a 51.9% majority. This is potentially a great example of how polls are not as reliable as we originally thought them to be when it comes to collecting data on general public consensus. In contrast, we gather live feeds on significant political events to aid political figures in their campaigns and activities.

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Target Market

Our target market will range from individuals, political parties, well-known businesses e.g. McDonalds, Nike, Apple, and government institutions needing information on any particular areas of concern.

Businesses, such as the aforementioned, have a huge social media presence on a global level. This is essential and effective in being able to communicate information to a mass of consumers, both current and potential, and to receive feedback faster than you would via other means of communication. However, with such global exposure combined with the speed of social media, the brand image and company reputation of these businesses is now more vulnerable to change than ever before. There are many examples from the past that can be cited in which negative tweets about companies products, services, and even marketing strategies, went viral causing a huge onslaught of negative public opinion, thus, having an adverse effect on the company in question.

In a similar fashion, government institutions have also been the victim of negative public sentiment posted online on various social media platforms directly affecting political parties and their reputations, and the number of votes in a particular party's favour (on both local and national levels).

The stock market is malleable and is affected by global consensus in various circles of interest, therefore, an investor keeps a close eye on that consensus when it comes to making profitable trades and investment decisions. An ill-informed investment decision made based on inaccurate information on global consensus could result in huge losses for an investor. Clearly, the problems our target clients face are all similar in nature and, in one way or another, affect each other.

Competition

Current Alternatives

Competition does exist in the industry InsightsPod is operating in. IBM Watson Analytics, Lexalytics, and Falcon.IO are some of our competitors. However, we have an

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edge in providing sentiment analysis which is based on geographical location and can support 70+ languages.

Our Advantages

InsightsPod is different from our competitors based on a number of reasons;

- Highly accurate and intelligent sentiment analysis system
- Data is gathered and analyzed on a broader level unlike some of our competitors. For instance, our competitors do not process data from Facebook and YouTube. Our custom crawler can extract data from other sources.
- InsightsPod can give results based on specific geographical locations. This could be significant to both retail brands and political parties, or individuals too.
- Our platform also has the potential to process data in a multitude of languages, hence, the outcome tends to be more precise and effective.
- Highly customizable service - we assist our customers in engaging their target audience

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Execution

Marketing & Sales

Marketing Plan

We have planned to hire a PR and marketing agency to help create awareness and spread the word out about our company. There are four companies in San Francisco that are under consideration amongst which we will opt for one; The Outcast Agency, Spark, SutherlandGold Group, and Brew. Usually, these companies charge $15,000 to $20,000 per month for their services.

Feature articles and product reviews will help launch awareness of our platform. Online advertisement will help with buyer impressions. The top 20 to 30 customers in each segment will be approached first; a few sales hits in these top tiers will enable achievement of targeted forecasts.

Sales Plan

In the first couple of months, the company will set up the office, hire a competent PR firm and members of sales/business development to generate sales. There will be no sales activity during this time span. Revenue will begin to flow in by the end of the first six months.

InsightsPod expects to generate revenue from a subscription-based model. In order to demonstrate the capability of our platform, InsightsPod's website will display limited live insights on popular topics. Currently, we are displaying live insights on the US presidential election's candidates and the Apple iPhone 7. In addition to this, key contacts with senior writers at Wired Magazine, Business Week, CNet, and ZDnet will bring positive national attention to our technology.

We anticipate that the initial revenues will come from businesses who will subscribe to our service. InsightsPod will rigorously pursue government contracts from federal, state and local governments. InsightsPod can be used by LEA to detect criminal and terrorist

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activities. We will enlist the help of consultants familiar with government bidding processes, and those who have contacts within different departments. We will also pursue political parties.

Due to InsightsPod being a new entity, we understand that we will have to prove our company's worth to businesses in order to earn their respect and business. We will provide free sample reports to potential clients. InsightsPod will also offer an 800 number phone line for customer service purposes.

Pricing

Customers will be charged according to the number of impressions being processed by InsightsPod. Customers will pay an optional consulting fee for specialized services. For example helping a political party in engaging voters during elections.

No. of Impressions (Monthly Subscription)	Cost (USD)
0-100,000	$999
100,001-250,000	$1,999
250,001-500,000	$2,600
500,001-1,000,000	$3,500
1,000,001-2,000,000	$5,000

**Impression = 1 Facebook comment or 1 Tweet*

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Operations

Locations & Facilities

The locations we have shortlisted to host our office space are San Francisco and Oakland. We have yet to decide on the two locations, however, we are leaning towards Oakland due to lower running costs and the accessibility of tech resources. We will also have one office set up in London where we will appoint one salesperson. We currently have an operating office space in Islamabad and our back-end developers will be working from this location.

Technology

Our platform acquires data from different social media sites and discussion forums. Currently, we are supporting Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook. We can acquire unlimited Twitter data which includes historical data for $60,000 per year. For Facebook and YouTube, we have developed our own crawler that collects data from both websites. Our platform can also collect data from any discussion forum and news website.

Milestones & Metrics

Milestone	Due Date	Who's Responsible
Business Plan	September 24, 2016	Business Development
Start up Investment	October 15, 2016	Finance
Set up office facility	October 31, 2016	Management
Hire a PR firm	November 07, 2016	Marketing
Hire sales team	November 21, 2016	Sales
First Sales	April 17, 2017	Sales

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Company

Overview

Ownership & Structure

InsightsPod will be registered as a limited-liability corporation. Zubair Khan will own 90% shares and 10% will be owned by Anya Rasulova. No outside investors are involved at this point in time.

Team

The executive team at InsightsPod has two members - Zubair Khan and Anya Rasulova. Zubair will manage the day-to-day operations and company strategy, whereas Anya will be the strategic advisor and overlooking product enhancement.

Zubair Khan (CEO)

- CEO, Tranchulas – A multinational IT Security Company (10 Years)
- Accomplished and result oriented with proficiency in information security services and IT business management
- Analytical expertise in overseeing technology improvement initiatives
- Pursuing MBA from Harvard
- Bachelors in Business IT from Curtin University of Technology, Australia

Anya Rasulova (Director)

- Business Development and Strategic Partnerships, Google
- Product Marketing Manager, Google
- Strategy Manager, Ebay
- Wharton MBA (Marketing and Operations)
- BA Economics, Brown University
- Solid career track record in consulting and internet services

The technical team will consist of a Chief Data Scientist and five programmers who will be based in Pakistan. We will have two business development and sales executives based in San Francisco and London.

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Financial Plan

Forecast

Key Assumptions

The financial plan relies on certain underlying assumptions;

- A gradual start since we are gathering potential customers.
- The technology is not very common, therefore, educating potential clients and the public will require some time.
- We are expecting steady growth once the accuracy of the platform has been demonstrated.
- The technology is new and updated so there's only a minimal chance that the product immediately obsoletes.

According to the assumptions and the timeline we have predicted, our first sales will be after six months. From each brand/retailer, we have assumed to earn a revenue of $25,000 to $30,000 per year. Additional revenue will be received through providing consulting services to clients, especially government sectors and political parties.

In our first three years, we are projecting $400,000 in Year 1, $850,000 in Year 2 and $1.6 million in Year 3 in revenue with a 100% profit margin. We expect PR and Marketing to be our top expense. The first 2 years' payroll costs will be minimal as founding members are not taking any salary for that period of time.

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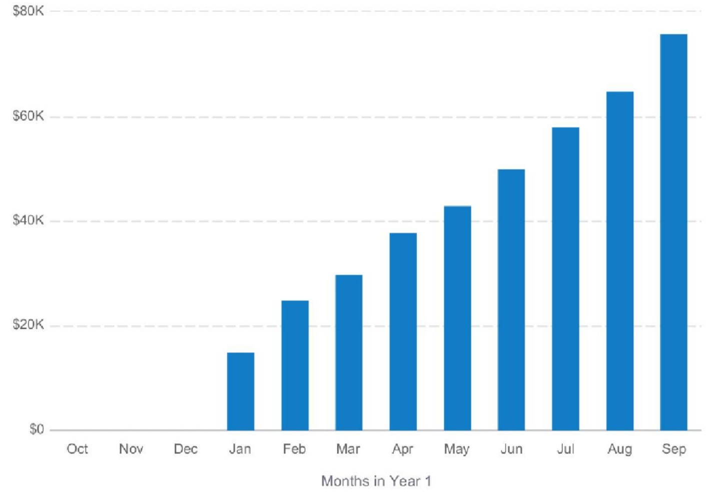
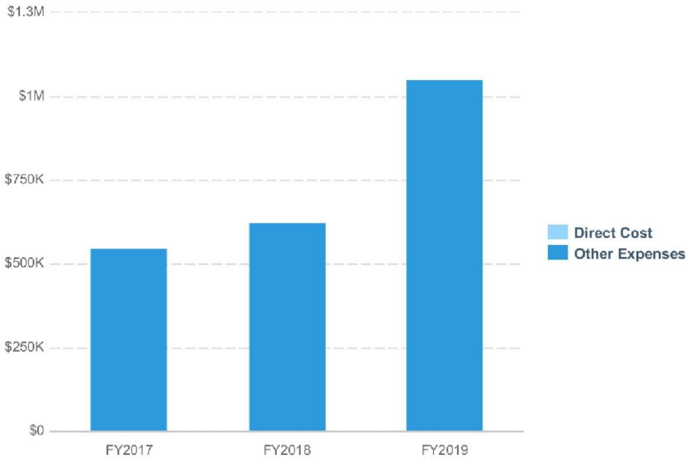
Revenue by Month



Expenses by Year



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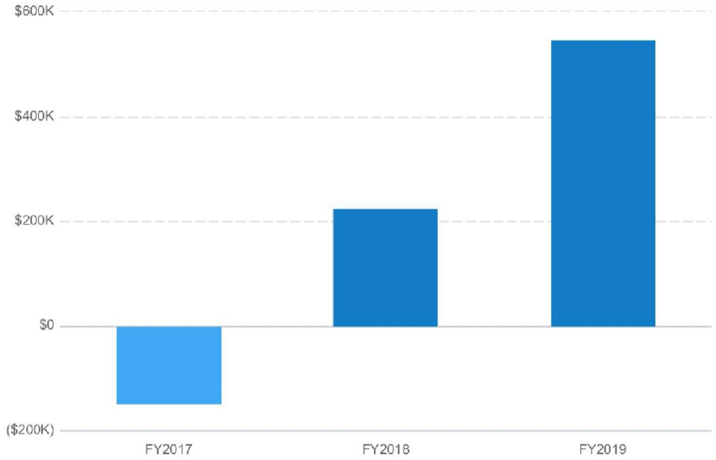
Net Profit (or Loss) by Year



Financing

Use of Funds

The total expense in Year 1 is around $548,000 and $624,000 in Year 2. The biggest expense will be contracting of a PR/Marketing Agency. We have allocated $192,000 for this.

We have allocated $103,000 per year for product development. The breakdown of this amount is as follows:

- We plan to hire a Data Scientist who will be paid $24,000 per year. To reduce the expense we will hire a Data Scientist in Pakistan. The current salary of an experienced Data Scientist working for companies like Teradata and Telenor is $2000-$2500 per month.
- Our development team in Pakistan will consist of five team members. The salaries for our two senior developers will be $18,000 each, making that a total of $36,000 per year. Our programmers will be paid $14,400 each per year, making that a total of $43,200.

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We do not, and will not, compromise on the quality of our work; superior technical expertise is our top priority. Experts need to be highly paid as per market standards, and well-trained, in order to put in their best efforts.

The Business Development Team will consist of two members of staff to manage sales activities, maintaining valuable relationships with existing clients and identifying new sales leads.

The marketing will be outsourced to a PR/Marketing agency located in San Francisco which will cost us approximately $15,000 to $20,000 per month. Also, we plan on participating in industry related events every quarter such as exhibitions and trade shows.

Data acquisition from Twitter will cost us $60,000 per year. Our office space expense is for two locations, i.e. Oakland or San Francisco and London.

We don't plan on paying ourselves salaries until after 2 years, and even then, we will keep them low so we can invest as much as we can back into the business.

Sources of Funds

We have already covered our startup costs. The founder is currently paying the salaries of programmers and the back-end office of Tranchulas Islamabad is being used to facilitate the development process. All servers are currently hosted in Germany which is also funded by the founder. The company has no loans and has no intention of taking out any loans from banks. We plan to grow through bootstrapping, keeping our salaries low and reinvesting our profits in the business, rather than taking on any additional debt.

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Statements

Projected Profit & Loss

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Revenue	**$400,000**	**$850,000**	**$1,600,000**
Direct Costs			
Gross Margin	$400,000	$850,000	$1,600,000
Gross Margin %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Operating Expenses			
Salary	$263,200	$284,720	$548,056
Employee Related Expenses			$48,000
Office Space / Utilities	$29,333	$32,000	$32,000
Insurance	$500	$500	$500
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Servers	$7,200	$14,400	$14,400
Trade Shows and Exhibitions	$11,250	$15,000	$15,000
PR / Marketing Agency	$176,000	$192,000	$192,000
Twitter Data acquisition	$55,000	$60,000	$60,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$547,483**	**$603,620**	**$914,956**
Operating Income	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$685,044**
Interest Incurred			
Depreciation and Amortization			
Income Taxes	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Total Expenses	**$547,483**	**$623,399**	**$1,051,965**
Net Profit	**($147,483)**	**$226,601**	**$548,035**
Net Profit / Sales	**(37%)**	**27%**	**34%**

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Projected Balance Sheet

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Cash	$652,517	$1,698,897	$3,164,162
Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Inventory			
Other Current Assets			
Total Current Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Long-Term Assets			
Accumulated Depreciation			
Total Long-Term Assets			
Total Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Sales Taxes Payable			
Short-Term Debt			
Prepaid Revenue			
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Long-Term Debt			
Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Paid-in Capital	$800,000	$1,600,000	$2,400,000
Retained Earnings		($147,483)	$79,118
Earnings	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Total Owner's Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,679,118**	**$3,027,153**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

Projected Cash Flow Statement

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Net Cash Flow from Operations			
Net Profit	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Depreciation and Amortization			
Change in Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory			
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$19,779	$117,230
Change in Sales Tax Payable			
Change in Prepaid Revenue			
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$665,265**
Investing & Financing			
Assets Purchased or Sold			
Investments Received	$800,000	$800,000	$800,000
Change in Long-Term Debt			
Change in Short-Term Debt			
Dividends & Distributions			
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$800,000**	**$800,000**	**$800,000**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$652,517	$1,698,897
Net Change in Cash	$652,517	$1,046,380	$1,465,265
Cash at End of Period	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

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Appendix

Profit and Loss Statement

Profit and Loss Statement (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Revenue				$15,000	$25,000	$30,000	$38,000	$43,000	$50,000	$58,000	$65,000	$76,000
Direct Costs												
Gross Margin				$15,000	$25,000	$30,000	$38,000	$43,000	$50,000	$58,000	$65,000	$76,000
Gross Margin %				100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Operating Expenses												
Salary	$21,932	$21,932	$21,932	$21,932	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934	$21,934
Employee Related Expenses												
Office Space / Utilities		$2,666	$2,666	$2,666	$2,666	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667	$2,667
Insurance	$41	$41	$41	$41	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42	$42
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$416	$416	$416	$416	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417	$417
Servers							$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200	$1,200
Trade Shows and Exhibitions				$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250	$1,250
PR / Marketing Agency		$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000	$16,000

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Twitter Data acquisition		$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$22,389**	**$46,055**	**$46,055**	**$47,305**	**$47,309**	**$47,310**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**
Operating Income	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Interest Incurred												
Depreciation and Amortization												
Income Taxes	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Total Expenses	**$22,389**	**$46,055**	**$46,055**	**$47,305**	**$47,309**	**$47,310**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**	**$48,510**
Net Profit	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Net Profit / Sales				**(215%)**	**(89%)**	**(58%)**	**(28%)**	**(13%)**	**3%**	**16%**	**25%**	**36%**

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	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Revenue	**$400,000**	**$850,000**	**$1,600,000**
Direct Costs			
Gross Margin	$400,000	$850,000	$1,600,000
Gross Margin %	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**
Operating Expenses			
Salary	$263,200	$284,720	$548,056
Employee Related Expenses			$48,000
Office Space / Utilities	$29,333	$32,000	$32,000
Insurance	$500	$500	$500
Accounting and Legal Expenses	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000
Servers	$7,200	$14,400	$14,400
Trade Shows and Exhibitions	$11,250	$15,000	$15,000
PR / Marketing Agency	$176,000	$192,000	$192,000
Twitter Data acquisition	$55,000	$60,000	$60,000
Total Operating Expenses	**$547,483**	**$603,620**	**$914,956**
Operating Income	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$685,044**
Interest Incurred			
Depreciation and Amortization			
Income Taxes	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Total Expenses	**$547,483**	**$623,399**	**$1,051,965**
Net Profit	**($147,483)**	**$226,601**	**$548,035**
Net Profit / Sales	**(37%)**	**27%**	**34%**

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Balance Sheet

Balance Sheet (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Cash	$44,277	$64,888	$85,499	$119,860	$164,218	$213,575	$269,732	$330,889	$399,046	$475,203	$558,360	$652,517
Accounts Receivable				$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Inventory												
Other Current Assets												
Total Current Assets	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Long-Term Assets												
Accumulated Depreciation												
Total Long-Term Assets												
Total Assets	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Sales Taxes Payable												
Short-Term Debt												
Prepaid Revenue												
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**

Long-Term Debt												
Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**	**$0**
Paid-in Capital	$66,666	$133,332	$199,998	$266,664	$333,331	$399,998	$466,665	$533,332	$599,999	$666,666	$733,333	$800,000
Retained Earnings												
Earnings	($22,389)	($68,444)	($114,499)	($146,804)	($169,113)	($186,423)	($196,933)	($202,443)	($200,953)	($191,463)	($174,973)	($147,483)
Total Owner's Equity	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**

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	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Cash	$652,517	$1,698,897	$3,164,162
Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Inventory			
Other Current Assets			
Total Current Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Long-Term Assets			
Accumulated Depreciation			
Total Long-Term Assets			
Total Assets	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**
Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Income Taxes Payable	$0	$19,779	$137,009
Sales Taxes Payable			
Short-Term Debt			
Prepaid Revenue			
Total Current Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Long-Term Debt			
Total Liabilities	**$0**	**$19,779**	**$137,009**
Paid-in Capital	$800,000	$1,600,000	$2,400,000
Retained Earnings		($147,483)	$79,118
Earnings	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Total Owner's Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,679,118**	**$3,027,153**
Total Liabilities & Equity	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

Cash Flow Statement

Cash Flow Statement (With Monthly Detail)

FY2017	Oct '16	Nov '16	Dec '16	Jan '17	Feb '17	Mar '17	Apr '17	May '17	Jun '17	Jul '17	Aug '17	Sep '17
Net Cash Flow from Operations												
Net Profit	($22,389)	($46,055)	($46,055)	($32,305)	($22,309)	($17,310)	($10,510)	($5,510)	$1,490	$9,490	$16,490	$27,490
Depreciation and Amortization												
Change in Accounts Receivable				$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory												
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0
Change in Sales Tax Payable												
Change in Prepaid Revenue												
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($22,389)**	**($46,055)**	**($46,055)**	**($32,305)**	**($22,309)**	**($17,310)**	**($10,510)**	**($5,510)**	**$1,490**	**$9,490**	**$16,490**	**$27,490**
Investing & Financing												

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Assets Purchased or Sold												
Investments Received	$66,666	$66,666	$66,666	$66,666	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667	$66,667
Change in Long-Term Debt												
Change in Short-Term Debt												
Dividends & Distributions												
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,666**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**	**$66,667**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$44,277	$64,888	$85,499	$119,860	$164,218	$213,575	$269,732	$330,889	$399,046	$475,203	$558,360
Net Change in Cash	$44,277	$20,611	$20,611	$34,361	$44,358	$49,357	$56,157	$61,157	$68,157	$76,157	$83,157	$94,157
Cash at End of Period	**$44,277**	**$64,888**	**$85,499**	**$119,860**	**$164,218**	**$213,575**	**$269,732**	**$330,889**	**$399,046**	**$475,203**	**$558,360**	**$652,517**

	FY2017	FY2018	FY2019
Net Cash Flow from Operations			
Net Profit	($147,483)	$226,601	$548,035
Depreciation and Amortization			
Change in Accounts Receivable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Inventory			
Change in Accounts Payable	$0	$0	$0
Change in Income Tax Payable	$0	$19,779	$117,230
Change in Sales Tax Payable			
Change in Prepaid Revenue			
Net Cash Flow from Operations	**($147,483)**	**$246,380**	**$665,265**
Investing & Financing			
Assets Purchased or Sold			
Investments Received	$800,000	$800,000	$800,000
Change in Long-Term Debt			
Change in Short-Term Debt			
Dividends & Distributions			
Net Cash Flow from Investing & Financing	**$800,000**	**$800,000**	**$800,000**
Cash at Beginning of Period	$0	$652,517	$1,698,897
Net Change in Cash	$652,517	$1,046,380	$1,465,265
Cash at End of Period	**$652,517**	**$1,698,897**	**$3,164,162**

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 10:54:13 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune

Importance: High

President Obamafs response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leaderfs hidden wealth.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow

Sent from my iPhone

From: Joi Ito [[redacted]]
Sent: 4/27/2014 2:34:04 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune

Importance: High

Flying to LA. Will try to call when I land.11AM Pacific or so.

Sent from my iPad

On Apr 27, 2014, at 7:41, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

[redacted] if you havetime

On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:

> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
>
> Sent from my iPhone

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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 6:55:07 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune
Attachments: signature.asc

Importance: High

Can you talk now?

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> [redacted] if you havetime
>
>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> President Obama's response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader's hidden wealth.
> http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/27/world/sanctions-revive-search-for-secret-putin-fortune.html?smid=nytnow-share&smprod=nytnow
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--
Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

---

Attachments: signature.asc

Can you talk now?

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

```
> [redacted] if you havetime
>
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```

--
Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 4/27/2014 6:57:02 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Sanctions Revive Search for Secret Putin Fortune
Attachments: signature.asc

Importance: High

Calling you from a 310 #...

On Apr 27, 2014, at 04:41 , Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> [redacted] if you havetime
>
>
> On Sun, Apr 27, 2014 at 6:54 AM, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
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> President Obama’s response to the Ukraine crisis, while derided by critics as slow and weak, has reinvigorated a 15-year global hunt for the Russian leader’s hidden wealth.
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Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

Attachments: signature.asc

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--
Please use my alternative address, [redacted] to avoid email auto responder

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From: Lesley Groff [[redacted]]
Sent: 7/17/2014 11:55:40 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Reminder Ed Boyden.

Importance: High

Reminder: Would you like me to set up a call for you with Ed Boyden?

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Ed Boyden <[redacted]>
Date: July 14, 2014, 4:50:47 AM EDT
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
Cc: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: deception
Reply-To: [redacted]

Sorry again for that last minute cancellation in the Spring -- alas, the perils of running a new center, that I no longer control my schedule like in the good old days. But the Obama BRAIN Initiative is running strong, and MIT has a good bid for a seat at the table, so that is good. Want to revisit a time for a chat? My schedule is now much more free, thanks to these BRAIN initiative activities launching...

Best,
Ed

On Fri, Dec 6, 2013 at 7:08 AM, Lesley Groff <[redacted]> wrote:

Good morning Neil…I am afraid Jeffrey must cancel his trip up today…he is sick in bed and not well. I am so very sorry to do this last minute. Hopefully we can circle back to this soon.

Thank you,

Lesley

Assistant to Jeffrey Epstein

[redacted]

On Dec 6, 2013, at 12:32 AM, Neil Gershenfeld <[redacted]> wrote:

Confirming lunch noon Friday at my office, E15-401. Sunglasses and beach balls optional, hopefully this will be a warm-up for meeting in more entertaining venues.

Neil

--
Ed Boyden, Ph. D.
Leader, Synthetic Neurobiology Group
Associate Professor, MIT Media Lab and McGovern Institute,
Departments of Biological Engineering and Brain and Cognitive Sciences
Co-Director, MIT Center for Neurobiological Engineering
New York Stem Cell Foundation-Robertson Investigator
MIT, Room E15-421, 20 Ames St., Cambridge, MA 02139
email -[redacted]
office - [redacted]
cell [redacted]
fax -[redacted]
skype - [redacted]
web - http://syntheticneurobiology.org
twitter - http://twitter.com/eboyden3

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 11:54:57 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Doesn't look like you are prioritizing your schedule very effectively.....how are you going to manage all of that? this is unga week so the boss will be in town too.....I'll be here all week -- you may get sick of me....just sat down on the train so can't talk freely.

On Sep 19, 2014 7:48 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> "girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes
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>>>> Agreed, but I need to be prepared to say yes before I talk to him.
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>>>> You need to talk to boss
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 6:57:04 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Reid's guy went down on all 7 counts.

On Sep 19, 2014 8:01 AM, "Kathy Ruemmler" <[redacted]> wrote:

> Yes, trains exist -- people ride them to get from one place to another.....germ factories, however. DC today, back in NY on Sunday morning.
>
> On Sep 19, 2014 7:57 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
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>> train? yes , i will be like the emergency room doctor at lenox hill, put that crazy in room 1, gunshot in surgery, and the
>> "cook" welll -- he can wait
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 6:59:27 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Yep. And now he is a repeat offender.

On Sep 19, 2014 2:58 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> and thats after turning down misdeameors? whoops
>
> On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 2:57 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 7:02:09 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Uh, yeah. We will now go through a period of self-reflection and despair.

On Sep 19, 2014 3:00 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> double whoops
>
> On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 2:59 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
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>>>>>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>>>>> Sent from my iPad

On Sep 19, 2014, at 1:21 AM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

You need to talk to boss

--
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
Sent: 9/19/2014 7:44:17 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Gov is not jewish

On Sep 19, 2014 3:42 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> reid or governor
>
> On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:02 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
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>>>>>>>>>>
>>>>>>>>>> On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 7:15 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
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>>>>>>>>>>> Most girls do not have to worry about this crap.
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 9/19/2014 7:46:28 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

Correct. One time, maybe. Twice, no way.

On Sep 19, 2014 3:45 PM, "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> of course not , he wouldnt have been so stupid.
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
> From: **Kathy Ruemmler** <[redacted]>
> Date: Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 3:44 PM
> Subject: Re:
> To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
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>
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"girls?",, careful i will renew an old habit, . this week, thiel, summers,bill burns, gordon brown, jagland, (council of europe and nobel chairman). mongolia pres , hardeep puree (india), boris (gates). jabor (qatar). sultan (dubai,), kosslyn (harvard), leon black, woody. you are a welcome guest at any..... also if you think there are interesting people in town, everyone here for climate summit , clinton ,security council, holy shit im on [redacted] for next 30 minutes

On Fri, Sep 19, 2014 at 7:15 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

> Most girls do not have to worry about this crap.
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From: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
Sent: 9/19/2014 9:12:49 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Fwd:

Importance: High

I think I should do it.

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> free now
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From: Lawrence Summers [[redacted]
Sent: 10/9/2014 3:39:53 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

I fear she should have pulled out last week.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

Begin forwarded message:

Resent-From: <[redacted]>
From: The Washington Post <newsletters@email.washingtonpost.com>
Date: October 8, 2014 at 10:05:38 PM EDT
To: "Summers, Lawrence" <[redacted]>
Subject: Post Exclusive: Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal
Reply-To: The Washington Post <newslettersFS772X.4900074@email.washingtonpost.com>

Breaking news and original journalism only at The Washington Post • Wed., Oct. 8, 2014

View in your Web browser

Obama aides knew of possible White House tie to Cartagena scandal

As nearly two dozen Secret Service agents and members of the military were punished or fired following a 2012 prostitution scandal in Colombia, Obama administration officials repeatedly denied that anyone from the White House was involved.

But new details drawn from government documents and interviews show that senior White House aides were given information at the time suggesting that a prostitute was an overnight guest in the hotel room of a presidential advance-team member — yet that information was never thoroughly investigated or publicly acknowledged.

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From: Lisa New [[redacted]]
Sent: 10/27/2014 1:48:05 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: writing up proposal

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Larry has told me that you and a friend would like to contribute to my project (hallelujah and thank you a million times, Jeffrey) and that I ought to write up a proposal asking for 500,000. This is wonderful. If this comes to pass, the best way for that money to come, I think, is as a gift to Poetry in America, an initiative at EdLabs at Harvard University. This will give me discretion over its disbursement to HarvardX and WGBH, but this will be absolutely be a Harvard gift that will count as Campaign success and from which Harvard will take some (but not as much)overhead. . So far the best finance people I've met are at EdLabs and they are happy to manage these funds for me. There are other ways to give me this money that leave Harvard out, but my understanding is that your friend would like this to be a Harvard gift.

Here's a draft of what I'd like to do with that money.

I'd like 500,000 to do post-production and distribution of a whole *historical period* of American poetry (1914-1945 is what I'm thinking--Modernism) and including *three episodes of tv*.

The raw materials for that period include interviews with Bill Clinton (including footage not yet used by WGBH), Peter Gallison, Walter Isaacson, Lena Dunham, Woody Allen (whose lawyers didn't like our release a while ago, but we're hoping will soften over time), Harrison Ford (still a maybe), Robert Polito, Sarah Kay, Al Filreis, Rafael Campo, Susan Howe, kids from Nantucket High School, kids from Brookline High School, Alfre Woodard, Jane Pickering, Jay Parini, Ray Dalio, Leon Wieseltier, Richard Dawkins and others; and footage shot in Harlem, Greenwich Village, midtown, Chicago, London (if I have the money to hire a crew there; don't now), at museums including the Fogg, Harvard Museum of Natural History, Frost's house in Ripton Vermont and more.

This allows the donor to give to a big Harvard Campaign priority, Teaching and Learning , by supporting Poetry in America, allowing me to produce the crucial segment of the online course with the highest (TV quality) production values and so also supplying higher quality video to WGBH as a way also to cut their costs.

Currently, HarvardX skimps (on lighting, for instance--see the Bill Clinton interview) and while WGBH ladles money raised by others into everything. I have been pounding away at my friends at WGBH and I know that WGBH producer will work with HarvardX if they can give him footage of the right quality. . That is, we'll use HarvardX as the backlot for WGBH so as to squeeze three episodes out for 250.

This proposal does not include experiments in schools or the curricular development into courses for teachers that you've seen in other (million dollar_) proposals. But the courses for teachers can't happen before the footage is developed, and these courses will have as their centerpiece the WGBH episodes, and so this funding will make all the rest possible.

I can polish this narrative and or edit it, if there are things you think I have wrong.

And I can attach a draft budget based on real Harvard numbers (what my Harvard video editor, producer, media manager cost) as well as a draft WGBH budget I'll now go an negotiate with them. Or we can do that at a second stage.

Let me know what you think? And when are we reading Whitman together. Why don't we set a date for Feb when *Poetry in America 3: Whitman* is running online and we could screen a little video and then have a discussion around your table with you and some friends?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
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12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/27/2014 5:09:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: writing up proposal

Importance: High

Okay. Shall I attach budget? Edit the above and send it. Send it to whom? Lisa

On Mon, Oct 27, 2014 at 11:53 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> I think the proposal for 500k is optimistic but can't hurt. .
>
> On Mon, Oct 27, 2014 at 9:48 AM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Dear Jeffrey,
>>
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> Lisa
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>
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05/12/2014 the Cathedral – to Shlomo Gazit

- As the year 2015 begins, we find ourselves at the height of a historic earthquake, in multiple dimensions, the like of which hasn’t been seen since the end of WWI and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

- In the Middle East – within three years, the "Arab spring" turned into the "Islamic winter" – borders have vanished and centuries of conflicts between tribes and factions are erupting onto the surface.

- The bi-polar and multi-polar world we knew has been replaced by a world with not even one geopolitical center of gravity. It is a Gestalt in which everything depends on everything else, and dealing with the challenges requires global cooperation

.

- Israel finds itself at the center of a kind of "perfect storm,"the only outpost of the western way of life in the Middle East – at the meeting point of the "clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West, as Huntington envisioned it, and at the same time, in the spinning "eye of the storm" of the clash of titans within Islam itself: between Sunni and Shi'ite, between tradition, extremism and terrorism on the one hand, and modernity and moderation on the other; between the dream of "past glory" and the vision of a "leap into the future”. And all of this is drenched in a lot of blood.

- This drama that has washed over the Arab world bears two lessons and one insight for us:

The 1st lesson: "Be modest in prophecy". In particular, when it comes to the future. Mubarak for example had about 400,000 people at his disposal working in various security agencies in order to preemptively predict events such as those that took place at Tahrir Square. And he did not foresee the uprising. So who can?

The 2nd lesson: When friends, and even the leaders among us, say: "Don't get swept into a panic – if something really grave happens (Iran for example) – the US will not stand by. The world will take action!"

And I say: Don't bet on it. Look at Syria. Assad has massacred 200,000 of his own people – with tanks, artillery, fighter jets, even chemical weapons – and the world did not lift a finger.

And the one insight: To all our opponents and even friends who tell us that our lack of success in reaching an agreement with the Palestinians is the root of all the troubles in the Middle East – the original sin! – I say: this is not true!

Even if I, in 2000 (or Rabin and Peres in 1994 or Olmert in 2008), were to have reached a peace treaty with the Palestinians – which would have been implemented a long time ago the "Muslim Brotherhood" would still have taken control over Egypt and Al-Sisi would still have taken it back a short time after.

- Syria would still have been embroiled in a bitter civil war. And Iran – would still be striving for regional hegemony and nuclear military capability.
- The reasons for all the above are deeply rooted in the history of the nations and the region – and do not stem from the Israeli Palestinian conflict (they may be related to it in another way, which I will get to later on).

- In the new reality forged by the "Arab Spring," there is good news and bad news for us.

Let's start with the bad news:

ISIS, the disintegration of Syria, the events in Iraq – all of these are bad news that prove to us, time and time again, that the Middle East is indeed a tough neighborhood. There is no mercy for the weak, and there will be no second opportunity for those who don't defend themselves. Every year, new threats arise. And the old ones: Hezbollah, Iran, terrorism –are all "alive and kicking" and growing even stronger.

But there is good news too. Israel is the strongest country in the region, from Tripoli in Libya to Tehran. It's the strongest militarily, strategically, and economically, and if we know act wisely–diplomatically too. Equally important: Israel will continue to be the strongest country in the region in the foreseeable future – especially if we manage to identify and cultivate these sources of empowerment and advantage – including:

- Armed Forces capable of defeating any outside combination of threats, including terrorism.
- A strong and growing economy in an open relationship with global markets.

- Foreign policy that assures international backing, especially American – diplomatic and economic- backing Israel's positions, and which holds the "moral high ground" vis-a-vis our enemies and opponents.

- The fact that Israel is stronger than any combination of enemies is what enables us to act from a position of strength and self confidence in order to change the reality : to counter the threats and to seize the opportunities.

- Let me elaborate briefly about each of the threats:

Two ironies and one insight about Isis.

Assad slaughtered 200,000 of his people including by using chemical weapons – and that wasn't enough to get the British parliament and Prime Minister Cameron or the American Congress and President Obama to act.

- Then, ISIS beheaded two journalists (not really a new practice in the Middle East) in front of the cameras – and within 48 hours the world was united against them. Better late than never, so we have little reason to complain about the result. However, there is something to learn about the superficiality of the decision-making processes in our world.

Second: let's assume for a moment that ISIS is restrained in about a year (and hopefully – crushed) – who wins?

- The main winner is Assad, since the Coalition would have wiped out his main adversary, freeing him to focus more intensely on the rest of the rebels – meaning the "moderate" rebels, which the Coalition purports to train and reinforce in order to take him down.

Iran also wins and of course Hezbollah - all members of President Bush's Axis of Evil. In other words: the Coalition is doing some of the "dirty work" for them.

- In my best assessment, the Turks are right in their position that there is

no point in striking ISIS unless you also set a goal to take down Assad, and act to achieve it.
The Turks are right in their call for a "humanitarian strip" – 25-30 km into Syrian territory along the borders, and declare it a “no fly zone”, a place for refugees (there are several million of them) to assemble and where they can receive humanitarian aid.

- What hasn't been said explicitly is that such a deployment might lead sooner or later to engagement with the Syrian Air Force – followed by the Syrian Air Defense – which could develop into an opportunity to fundamentally change the balance of power and the course of the war against Assad's regime.

And one insight: ISIS may not be as strong as it is being portrayed. A coherent ,intense, coordinated action during the next year or two, particularly if performed according to the Turkish outline and with massive Turkish involvement – could well put the Genie back into the bottle. However – let us make no mistake – ISIS is part of the radical Islamic web of terrorism. A web that is loosely knit, yet survives on strictly restricted resources – and demonstrates operational flexibility, survivability and a fanatic adherence to the goal.

- We're talking about ALQ, Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria, Lashkar-e-Taiba in India, the Houthis in Yemen, the Shabab in Sumali, Boko Haram in Nigeria and many more – all across the Muslim strip, from Marrakesh to Bangladesh.
- And this web is very resilient. Dealing with it will take war lasting for a generation, not just a few years. The struggle will require collaboration not just between the moderate Arab nations and Turkey – but a long-standing collaboration between the US,

Russia, China, India and Europe – all are are potential targets and victims of this terror everyone to some extent. Forging this collaboration is categorically more important than the events in Ukraine or the North Chinese Sea Islands.

- Hezbollah is busy in Syria – and would generally prefer to avoid provoking Israel. Some here would say that Nasrallah has been deterred, that the memory of 2006 is still fresh in his mind and he will not act. I have my reservations about the deterministic nature of this statement. "Deterrence" is a somewhat elusive term. This is not a "zero sum game" on a one-dimensional bar. This is a complex and context-related issue. Although under normal circumstances, each side has a fundamental position (let's assume for a moment that Hezbollah's position is "avoid provoking Israel") – it is still not hard to imagine an event, or damage to Hezbollah's (or Nasrallah's) assets or prestige, that could lead it , despite its basic position, to take action contrary to its true fundamental position.

- Incidentally, this doesn't apply solely to "Hezbollah" – but to us too.
- Therefore, the working assumptions and the operational deployment must include the possibility of deterioration into a wide-scale confrontation with Hezbollah.

- And now, to Iran – which under certain circumstances might be the element that ignites or incites "Hezbollah" into action.
- Let us be clear – a nuclear Iran is a central threat to the entire world order, not just Israel. A nuclear Iran means the end of the non-proliferation regime– Saudi Arabia, within months, Turkey within a few years and Egypt might follow as well–and all will become nuclear.

- Every third-grade dictator will be able to ensure his survivability against the outside world by following in the footsteps of Pakistan, North Korea and Iran.
- The "countdown" towards the troubling vision of Prof. Graham Allison of Harvard about nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists – this countdown, even if it takes 15 years, will start. Therefore, blocking Iran from becoming a "threshold nuclear state" is crucial, and justifies every effort.

- Right now diplomacy is in hiatus at least until March 2015. It's hard to imagine a good agreement with the P5+1, and a bad agreement would be best left unsigned. The problem is that the Iranians have no real incentive to reach a “final agreement” that would keep them from becoming a nuclear power.
- As far as they're concerned, at any

given time an improved "interim agreement" would be better (unless the P5+1 yield to a bad agreement.)

- The Iranians are very sophisticated. In their opinion (I emphasize: in their opinion), the American government has changed its goal without admitting it, from "Iran will not have military nuclear capability. Period." to "Iran will not have military nuclear capability on our watch "
-
- This is of course a completely different thing. And this perception only reinforces Iran's obduracy and the delaying tactics that they've adopted.
- Israel has a supreme interest in "keeping all the options on the table". However, today, mostly against the backdrop of the drawn-out talks – Israel has an interest in maximizing its understanding with the United States and trying to convince it of the need for determination and perseverance; for

"sticks" as well as "carrots"; and of the importance of completely losing any illusions regarding the objectives of the Ayatollahs' regime.

- And from here, a sharp segue to the diplomatic challenges Israel faces, from the minor (for now) to the major.
- Israel is far from being a leaf in the wind. But the world has no geopolitical center of gravity – not the US, Russia, Europe or China –Israel isn't omnipotent either.
- It is wrong to disregard what's happening in Europe. It will not be resolved by saying that Europe is ridden with anti-Semitism (though there's quite a bit of truth to that).
- Regarding BDS, I used to tell the members of the Cabinet that– as long as these voices are coming from Eritrea or Mauritania, we can live with it for years. When it comes from Scandinavia and Britain – it's a different story, and must be taken

seriously.

- Right now it is being espoused by parliaments, not governments. But it could expand – to trade unions, to the academia, to consumer organizations and NGOs. And then, heaven forbid, eventually to governments – which will say "we are of the people ". We mustn't forget that Europe is Israel's No. 1 trading partner - not the US and not China. And Europe, with North America and a few countries in the East, is at the heart of the "reference group" of liberal democratic countries to which we want to belong, and rightfully so.

- This leads us to the US – and there, the diplomatic challenge is far greater. Israel is a sovereign state. On more than one occasion, I told President Obama, and before that Presidents Bush and Clinton, the following: "On issues that we believe are essential to the security and future of Israel and of the Jewish people, Israel will make its decisions alone and on its own responsibility and act upon them. We cannot, and will not want to", I added, "delegate the responsibility for such decisions, when required, even to the best of our friends – which is you." The US presidents, I note, did not always like this statement – but they respected it.

- In the same token, I told members of the cabinet more than once – "we must always remember that the US is also a sovereign state. And it expects us to respect its right to form its positions on the issues crucial to it, based on its own interests ". And we have to respect that.

- Without derogating from our responsibility to make and execute sovereign decisions – the reality is that there isn't full symmetry here.
- Our relations with the US President, the administration, the

Congress and the American people are vital to the State of Israel.

- The United States is Israel's main ally and strategic support. Our relations with it are the cornerstone of Israel's military capabilities, the IDF's qualitative edge, and Israel's strategic and political positioning.
- We receive $3 billion a year from the US, going back some 40 years now. What social or economic budget items would we forgo to make up the ₪12 billion gap if this assistance disappears?
- They're the only ones who can provide us with F-35 jets, the best aircraft in the world.
- These are mutually beneficial relations. The US also benefits from the unprecedented cooperation between our intelligence communities. And so do we.

We never expected, and will never ask others to fight for us – yet the US has deployed advanced radar systems in

Israel to provide early warning against long-range missiles, and holds military exercises on our soil and in the Mediterranean , preparing an American response in case Israel has to defend itself against missile attacks from Iran.

- We received about $1 billion from the US, by order of President Obama, for "Iron Dome", and assistance for the David's Sling and Arrow programs continues.
- We turn to the US to veto hostile initiatives against Israel in the United Nations Security Council. Or to soften the conclusions of the Goldstone Commission and its ilk.
- It is to them that we turned (and they responded to the best of their ability) in rather tense times, when a handful of our people were besieged in the embassy in Cairo, with an angry mob at the door.
- Secretary of State Kerry, and President Obama – went to great lengths – and paid a considerable

political (and often personal) price – to help us achieve a breakthrough with the Palestinians, though the effort did not succeed. Nor did we succeed (Rabin and Peres, myself, Olmert and Bibi as well). They shouldn't be ridiculed and debased for this. They should be appreciated. Even if we do not agree on all the details.

- We will yet need their help in facing many trials in the future.

- I recommend that we all remember this well. The rules of working with the Americans: Do not marginalize yourself. Do not fold. Yes – remember what the U.S. is for Israel. And Maintain–at almost any cost – mutual relations of trust and respect. It's good for Israel.
- The American Congress, President Obama, Biden and Kerry are part of the solution, even if it tarries. They are not part of the problem.

- Ben Gurion used to say, with his

iron logic, that "the future of Israel depends on our strength and our righteousness."

"Our strength" – that is the IDF's might and its strategic capabilities, the backing of the superpowers, our economic strength, and our social solidarity.

"Our righteousness" – not as an abstract concept – is our capacity to hold the"moral high ground" by means of a calculated effort to behave and be perceived as acting in good faith – to obtain peace, even if it delays.

- This is also an an essential condition for achieving internal solidarity and the world's support for Israel (or for the support of most of the world that's important to **us**).
- This is also an essential condition for achieving internal solidarity and willingness for sacrifice in a society where being called for battle or routinely risking your life is not a theoretical notion, but rather part of our life experience that repeats itself

time and again.

- The fighting spirit, resilience and the internal solidarity are deeply bound to both our strength and our righteousness. Our righteousness is just as important as our strength.

Our righteousness, and not our strength in and of itself, is what gives Zionism's struggle its meaning and sense of purpose (especially for ones who can choose). The support of a superpower

- and the resilience of our society and economy, which are among the components of our "strength" – will never be without recognition of our righteousness. And without it, they will erode

.

- This is the time to point out the risk in the weakening of the cohesive forces which hold the Israeli society together. We are turning into an increasingly divided society whose very fabric seems to be ripping apart, and which is riddled with hatred for one another.

Left and right. Jews and Arabs. Secular and religious. Rich and poor. Center and periphery. Old and new. This is dangerous. The late Tunisian President Bourguiba (and later on Sadat in his debates with Assad just before the peace treaty with Israel) made the argument that there's no need to defeat Israel by force. Give them the opportunity – and they will collapse from within. But the opposite is true! We have no intention of collapsing from within. But this requires that we come to our senses and act with the right national priorities in mind for society and the economy.

- The young generation, the future, must be prioritized. And the same applies to those groups in society who carry its burdens:working hard, paying taxes and serving in the IDF. Cultivating mutual respect, openness, tolerance, and acceptance of others; More equitable distribution of the national wealth; equal opportunities for all and encouraging individuals, groups and communities to take responsibility. All of these are part of our mission – and we have a long road ahead of us.

I am concerned about our addiction to internal quarrels just as much as I am concerned about our conflicts with external opponents. Our "righteousness" will not prevail and our "strength" will crack over time if we do not act decisively to establish, gradually yet persistently , norms of public life and civil society – which sets norms for what is done and what isn't done far above the criminal threshold.. We need profound change in the area of respect for the rule of law, standards of governance, keeping the thin line between freedom of expression and freedom of incitement – and immediately hitting the brakes on racism and Jewish terrorism – which in my opinion should be treated within the criminal domain..

- A few sentences on the "nation-state law". This is a redundant and even harmful law. In general, and particularly at this point. To our friends it signals that Israel is losing its self-confidence regarding the obvious – namely,its unique identity as the Jewish-democratic state as reflected by the "Declaration of Independence".
To our enemies it provides an effective tool to make Israel a suspect– of being a country that's willingly drifting away from the norms of democracy – as a preliminary step towards institutionalized discrimination.
And one has to wonder: what was wrong with what we had until this point? What's wrong with the "Declaration of Independence"? Who needs this? And why?

- Churchill once observed the difference between an optimist and pessimist.
The pessimist – sees the difficultly in

every opportunity
The optimist – sees the opportunity in every difficultly.

- We have opportunities before us within all of the difficulties. The most important of all, a rare one, the kind that comes once in a generation – is the opportunity to establish a regional agreement. It is all the more important in light of the "Arab Spring" and following "Operation Protective Edge". There is an opportunity to establish a regional agreement that fundamentally changes the realities of the region and Israel's future and status within it. An agreement that will move the region's entire economy forward together with the chance for stability and peace ,based on synergies and collaboration rather than hatred and revenge.

- What do I mean? The events in recent years have created a strong common interest for Israel and the moderate Arab countries – Saudi

Arabia and the Gulf States, Jordan, Egypt and perhaps even Turkey (which is not Arab). The focal interest is the struggle against radical Islamic terrorism and against Iran's hegemonic and nuclear intentions.

- The challenge for us is based on there being, apparently, only one way to achieve that; and the upcoming elections in Israel force us to put it on hold for a few months.
- And the way to do it is this: a strong, self-confident Israel, willing to hold serious negotiations with the Palestinians and the group of Arab nations within an international conference, backed by the US and the Quartet – in order to achieve a two-state solution and establish a regional agreement, while maintaining an unyielding and persistent fight against terrorism and ensuring the IDF's qualitative military edge over any combination of opponents.

- The moderates among Arab rulers are unable (and also unwilling) to float this common interest and turn it into policy – because they worry how their people would respond. This is how the Palestinian issue is related to possibility of an overall agreement in the Middle East.
- And this isn't just an assessment.

- We must remember, vis-a-vis the Palestinians, Israel can (practically only) give. Regarding the rest of the moderate Arab world – Israel can also get, and a lot..

Not just recognition and legitimacy but also an opportunity for regional infrastructure projects – and mostly – for the beginning of a process, protracted though it may be – to change the region's fundamental attitudes towards Israel.

- On the road to seize this opportunity – Israel will have to consider embracing the Saudi proposal, with Israel's reservations, as a basis to negotiate a regional agreement.

- This will take time. There will be ups and downs. The Palestinians are not an easy interlocutor. No one knows that better than I do..
- This might require long periods of interim agreements and even calculated unilateral steps that are coordinated with the US and the Quartet.
- It is possible that within the context of a regional agreement, the Palestinian State, once established, could be integrated into a structure of a closer cooperation that could include Jordan, Israel and perhaps another regional player.
- But to advance the chance of a regional agreement after the elections in Israel – the Palestinian issue and the two-state solution must be at the top of the agenda.
- The idea that' the radical right raises from time to time – to continue to rule the entire territory and maintain

a sort of "autonomy" for the Palestinians – is an illusion at best, and the first step of an upcoming blame game at worst. It will be brutally rejected by our closest friends – not to mention by each of the potential partners for the regional agreement – and by all of them together. This too is not a mere assessment.

- The claim that the events of the past year "prove" that Israel's vital security needs are incompatible with the "two-state solution" – is false. And I'm stating this as a professional position, not a political opinion.
- On the contrary – the IDF will be able to defend Israel better from an internationally recognized border that includes the settlement blocs, a number of strategic sites on mountain ridge, a security zone east of Ben Gurion Airport and long-term military presence on the Jordan River.

- The real threat to the future of the

Zionist Project – is not the security constraints of the "two-state solution" but rather a slippery slope leading to the "one-state solution" – a reality that would compromise Israel's security and worsen its diplomatic isolation – while inevitably (and this is the keyword) leading Israel into becoming a non-Jewish or non-democratic state. Not to mention the danger of descending into severe, perpetual hemorrhaging, lasting generations, by the two national communities locked in embrace– as we have seen in Belfast and Bosnia.

- The vision we all share – the vision of a "model society" in Israel, of positioning Israel, within 10-15 years, among the group of the most advanced societies – in education and culture, science and technology, quality of life – and eventually standard of living (Finland and Denmark can do it? So can we!). A society in which its sons and daughters choose to live . And one that young Jews from all over the world consider a source of pride, inspiration – and even a worthy place to live in.

- The vision of a "model society" will not materialize unless we gather our mental strength and political will, despite the pain and the differences in our positions – and together embrace the "two-state solution under a regional agreement" – which even if it delays – is the only appropriate and feasible solution, the only realistic and proper goal for Zionism in this complex world of the 21st century.

- A friend (from the Likud, actually) told me that when he was young, he visited Ben Gurion's home a few times. In one of their conversations, the boy asked the Old Man: "how is it that out of all of the people's leaders in the past 2,000 years, and even in the past 80 years, it was you who ended up founding the Jewish State?" And the

Old Man answered: "In ancient times, everyone had a sixth sense, a sense of recognizing opportunities. This sense disappeared over time – in most people. But not for me! I saw an opportunity – and I seized it."
Ben Gurion did not speak of the horrors of the War of Independence, the doubts, the risks. many assumed we would fail. He talked about the opportunity and recognizing it. And the deed.

- Like Ben Gurion at the time, Menachem Begin – with Egypt, and Rabin – in the peace treaty with Jordan, and later Peres – with the first steps towards the Palestinians, took huge national, diplomatic, security and political risks. Some paid a heavy price. Yitzhak paid the ultimate price. But they all dared – and acted. This is the true test of leadership. This is also the real test of creative statesmanship.
- Formative leadership had always

been rooted in a rare combination and fine balance between vision, daring and courage on one hand and judgment, complete sobriety and grasp of detail on the other. They will not come where anxiety, pessimism and passivity rule – these are recipes for the creating of self-fulfilling (necessarily pessimistic) prophecies.

- The essence and the purpose of the Zionist movement was to defy the reality and the mindset that the Exile created. Its foundation lay in the decision to take our own fate in our own hands and move proactively to change reality, and not be swept away by the arbitrary waves of history.

- Reality is knocking on our door. Not everything is certain. Nothing is ever certain. And nothing ever will be. Nevertheless – open the
- door – this is the true trial of the national leadership.
- Abba Eban used to say – the

Palestinians have never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity.

- Let's not fall into this trap – ourselves.

- Thank you.

Date: Friday, January 2 2015 11:14 PM
Subject: truly outrageous Š.i am so sorry for you & alan-
From: Lilly Ann Sanchez <[redacted]>
To: jeevacation@gmail.com;
Attachments: 8EE9569C-058C-424D-9513-7655E297E217[9].png; 5C1BB0AB-366E-4484-A53B-A8165C8B536B.png; 7B138C22-EB95-4CF5-AADA-CB3D461BC4EE.png; FD41701B-1ACA-4262-B3E8-EB553F5705B2.png; DCE5E2CF-48F1-42F4-A922-833477C1EB2F.png

---

Jeffrey -

Please let me know if I can help in any way-

Story below-

Miami Herald

Salacious new chapter in Florida billionaire's sex scandal

Jeffrey Epstein

For years, the story of South Florida billionaire money manager Jeffrey Epstein — involving allegations of human trafficking, an international underage sex ring, a Palm Beach mansion, a private island in the Caribbean, and an FBI investigation — has been tabloid fodder in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Now, Fort Lauderdale lawyer Brad Edwards is helping to write a new chapter in this murky and sordid tale. Representing two alleged victims identified only as Jane Doe #3 and Jane Doe #4, Edwards filed a motion in U.S. District Court in West Palm Beach that alleges well-known criminal defense lawyer Alan Dershowitz and Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, were involved in Epstein's international sex ring.

"There's absolutely no kernel of truth to this story," said Dershowitz, who represented Epstein. "I don't know this woman. I've never been in the same place with her. She's made up the whole story completely from whole cloth."

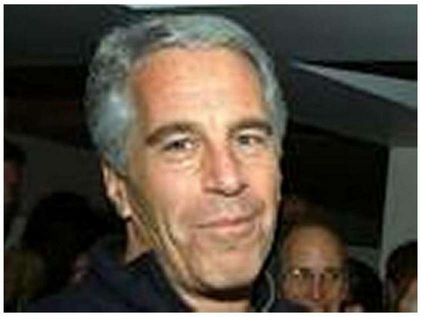
Edwards' motion requests that his new clients join the case of two other alleged victims — identified as Jane Doe #1 and Jane Doe #2 in court records — who are attempting to use the Crime Victims' Rights Act to force the U.S. Department of Justice to prosecute Epstein for sex trafficking of children by fraud and use of interstate commerce to entice a minor to commit prostitution, among other offenses.

A wealthy Wall Street money manager who had once attempted to purchase New York magazine, Epstein traveled the world in circles that included President Bill Clinton and businessman Donald Trump. Despite his vast fortune and mansion in Palm Beach, Epstein kept a low profile and wasn't a regular in the wealthy island's social scene.

The low profile vanished in 2005, when a woman contacted the Palm Beach police fearing that Epstein had molested her 14-year-old daughter. The girl told detectives she'd been invited to Epstein's mansion, where she was paid $300 after stripping to her underwear and massaging Epstein as he masturbated. Police then located a community college student who gave a sworn statement that she had taken six girls, all between the ages of 14 and 16, to Epstein.

Police referred the case to the FBI. In September 2007, Dershowitz helped Epstein negotiate a then-secret non-prosecution agreement with the U.S. Attorney's Office, which deferred to the Palm Beach County State Attorney's Office for criminal charges, court records show.

LINKEDIN



In 2008, Epstein pleaded guilty to a state charge of soliciting prostitution with a minor and served 13 months of an 18-month sentence.

After his conviction, Epstein's story grew even more bizarre, with anonymous women accusing him in federal court of conspiring with Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of the late British media baron Robert Maxwell, to operate an international underage sex ring.

Edwards, the Fort Lauderdale lawyer, and Paul Cassell, a former federal judge who now teaches law at the University of Utah, filed a Jane Doe lawsuit against the U.S. government in July 2008, alleging that Epstein had committed crimes against their clients, including sex trafficking of children by fraud.

The case, which has been pending for more than six years before U.S. District Judge Kenneth A. Marra, initially involved two women, identified as Jane Doe #1 and Jane Doe #2, who said they were sexually abused by Epstein and trafficked as minors.

On Dec. 30, 2014, Edwards asked to have two new accusers added to the case — identified as Jane Doe #3 and Jane Doe #4.

Jane Doe #3 alleges in the court filing that Maxwell and Epstein kept her as a "sex slave" from 1999 through 20002, when she escaped to an unspecified foreign country.

Epstein forced Jane Doe #3, who was then a minor, to have sex with politically connected and wealthy people, the court filing alleges.

"Epstein's purpose in 'lending' Jane Doe [along with other young girls] to such powerful people [was] to ingratiate himself with them for business, personal, political and financial gain, as well as to obtain blackmail information," the filing alleges.

Jane Doe #3 identifies one of the men she was forced to have sex with as Dershowitz, a former Harvard law professor and high- profile criminal defense lawyer.

"Dershowitz was an eye-witness to the sexual abuse of many other minors by Epstein and several of Epstein's co-conspirators," the filing alleges.

Dershowitz denied the claims, describing them as part of an extortion plot. He called the filing "the sleaziest legal document I have ever seen."

"They manipulated a young, suggestible woman who was interested in money," Dershowitz said.

Dershowitz said he intends to file complaints against Edwards and Cassell. "This is a disbarrable offense, and they will be disbarred," Dershowitz said. "They will rue the day they ever made this false charge against me."

Knowingly making defamatory statements in court records can be grounds for disbarment. Jack Thompson, a Miami lawyer who campaigned against violent video games and the group 2 Live Crew, was disbarred for professional misconduct that included making defamatory statements.

“We’re not commenting on the story beyond our legal pleading,” Cassel said.

In the most recent court filing, Jane Doe #3 alleges that Epstein forced her to have sex with “many other powerful men, including numerous prominent American politicians, powerful business executives, foreign presidents, a well-known prime minister, and other world leaders.”

The filing names Prince Andrew, the Duke of York, as one of those world leaders.

The Florida Center for Investigative Reporting is a nonprofit news organization supported by foundations and individual contributions. For more information, visit fcir.org.

Palace Denies Allegations About Prince Andrew in U.S. Underage Sex Lawsuit

Lilly Ann Sanchez, Esq.

LS L·S LAW FIRM

Four Seasons Tower – Suite 1200
1441 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131

tel: [redacted]
fax:
email: [redacted]

website: http://www.thelslawfirm.com

From: Joi Ito [redacted]]
Sent: 1/4/2015 11:45:43 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Interesting…. Heard Alan is not the type to give up.

> On Jan 4, 2015, at 7:25 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> bad press in fulll swing . she also claims to have dinner on my island with clinton. lots of details where he was sitting etc however he was NEVER on the island NEVER. its silly, but she has lots of traction
>
> --
> please note
> The information contained in this communication is
> confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
> constitute inside information, and is intended only for
> the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE
> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
> communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
> and may be unlawful. If you have received this
> communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

--
Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]

From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2015 8:34:13 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I got another email from a colleague of his saying, "they picked the wrong adversary in Dersh. It will be his new life mission. "

> On Jan 4, 2015, at 9:19 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> Kabuki   Sec royals money
>
> On Sunday, January 4, 2015, Joi Ito <[redacted]> wrote:
> Interesting…. Heard Alan is not the type to give up.
>
> > On Jan 4, 2015, at 7:25 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
> >
> > bad press in fulll swing   . she also claims to have dinner on my island with clinton. lots of details where he was sitting etc however he was NEVER on the island NEVER. its silly, but she has lots of traction
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> > --
> >   please note
> > The information contained in this communication is
> > confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
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> > the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> > JEE
> > Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
> > communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
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> > communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> > return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> > destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> > including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
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> --
> Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]
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>
>
> --
>   please note
> The information contained in this communication is
> confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
> constitute inside information, and is intended only for
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> JEE
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> and may be unlawful. If you have received this
> communication in error, please notify us immediately by
> return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
> destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
> including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved
>

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Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]

From: Martin Weinberg [redacted]
Sent: 3/19/2015 8:40:59 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; dkiesq [redacted]
Subject: Fw: Fwd: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein
Attachments: image001.gif

Importance: High

Martin G. Weinberg, Esq.

20 Park Plaza, Suite 1000

Boston, MA 02116

617-227-3700

617-901-3472 cell

===================================

This Electronic Message contains

information from the Law Office of

Martin G. Weinberg, P.C.,

and may be privileged. The

information is intended for the

use of the addressee only. If you

are not the addressee, please note

that any disclosure, copying,

distribution, or use of the

contents of this message is

prohibited.

On Thursday, March 19, 2015 3:54 PM, Alan Dershowitz <[redacted]> wrote:

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Sullivan, John" <[redacted]
Date: March 19, 2015 at 2:57:44 PM EDT
To: "[redacted]" <[redacted]>
Subject: Mr. Clinton and Mr. Epstein

Good Afternoon Mr. Dershowitz,

I'm John Sullivan, a reporter at The Washington Post. I've been reading with great interest stories about allegations that former President Clinton spent time on Jeffrey Epstein's Caribbean Island. In a declaration you filled in federal court you state that you have reason to believe this is not true. Are you available to discuss this with me? Thank you for your time.

John Sullivan

John Sullivan
Reporter

1150 15th Street NW
Washington DC 20071
Phone:[redacted]
Mobile:
Email:[redacted]

MARTIN G. WEINBERG, P.C.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

20 PARK PLAZA, SUITE 1000
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

[redacted]

FAX [redacted]

NIGHT EMERGENCY:
[redacted]

EMAIL ADDRESSES:
[redacted]

April 24, 2015

Via Email and U.S. Mail
John Zucker
Assistant Legal Counsel
Office of Legal Counsel
77 W 66TH St, Room 1628
New York, NY 10023

Re: Good Morning America and Night Line interview with Jane Doe 3

Dear Mr. Zucker:

I represent Jeffrey Epstein. I have been informed by Producer James Hill that ABC intends to air an interview, conducted by a Good Morning America co-host, of a woman known in court papers as Jane Doe 3.[1] I write to put you on notice that ABC's publication of Jane Doe 3's accusations is grossly negligent or worse. The accusations, many of which relate to my client, relate to alleged conduct that occurred approximately 15 years ago. The current accusations are simply reformatted and embellished echoes of previous allegations, which were first made by Jane Doe 3 to tabloid publications in the United Kingdom in 2011 and which have no independent news value. These allegations were then and remain now uncorroborated and have been refuted or undermined by other, credible evidence. Indeed, a federal judge recently refused to consider these allegations in pending litigation, finding them "immaterial and impertinent", while striking the allegations and denying Jane Doe 3s Motion to Join, See Jane Doe 1 and 2 v. United States, 08-CV-80736-KAM (S.D. Fla.), Dkt 324 at 5. In addition, in that very same litigation, Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Timothy R. Slater filed a declaration stating that when Jane Doe 3 was interviewed by the FBI in 2007 she refused to cooperate with the investigation of Mr. Epstein declaring she wanted nothing to do with the matter. For ABC to air these untested allegations on national television as "news" when Jane Doe 3 intentionally declined eight years ago to subject these same allegations to verification by the FBI would be grossly irresponsible and severely damaging to Mr. Epstein and others.

---

[1] Mr. Hill informed me that she was waiving whatever rights to anonymity she might assert but I will, because of certain legal obligations, refer to her as Jane Doe 3.

This is particularly true when ABC knows or should know that several, very specific allegations of Jane Doe 3 have been rebutted and/or demonstrated by others to be false. For example, I understand that she has accused distinguished Professor Alan Dershowitz of Harvard Law School of sexual misconduct involving her. Professor Dershowitz has flatly denied that allegation under oath in a federal court proceeding. I further understand that Professor Dershowitz offered to play a tape recording for Mr. Hill that evidences that Jane Doe 3 has made recent contradictory statements—that is, that she was pressured into including Professor Dershowitz in her allegations and that she has a financial motive in making these allegations.

The Duke of York and the Royal Palace have likewise unequivocally denied Jane Doe's similar allegations against the Duke. Surely, these unequivocal statements of denial of respected members of society are entitled to some deference by ABC, particularly where, as here, there is substantial evidence of bias, improper motive, and serious credibility problems of their accuser.

Moreover, additional claims of Jane Doe 3 can be refuted with objective evidence that is readily obtainable by ABC. For example, she claims she was in the presence of both former President Clinton (after January 20, 2001, and before the summer of 2002) and former Vice President Gore (and his wife) at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. I have been told by Mr. Hill that she claims to be 100% sure of the facts regarding President Clinton. The claims are completely uncorroborated and compellingly contradicted by others. Neither former President Clinton nor former Vice-President Gore and his wife have ever been present at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. A review of United States Secret Service records, obtainable through a Freedom of Information Request would prove the falsity of the claim. Virgin Island government records would provide further confirmation. I also believe that Mr. Hill has been told by individuals with percipient knowledge that former President Clinton has never been to Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. Upon inquiry, I am certain that you would receive similar denials from Mr. and Mrs. Gore either directly or by or through their counsel Mr. Boies. Jane Doe 3's fabrication of these claims against respected former officials undermines completely the trustworthiness of each and every one of her remaining allegations.

We would expect that, in the wake of the damning independent review of Rolling Stone's publications of rape allegations involving students at the University of Virginia, ABC would proceed with similar, uncorroborated allegations with extreme caution. At the very least, ABC has an obligation to verify—with independent evidence—the truthfulness of Jane Doe 3's claims. Merely declining to air those portions of her interview that relate to President Clinton and Vice-President Gore is insufficient. If ABC has concerns about her credibility with respect to any allegation, it must decline to republish all of her allegations.

In June of 2008, Mr. Epstein pleaded guilty to Florida state charges that do not relate to Jane Doe 3. After an extensive investigation, the United States declined to prosecute Mr. Epstein and provided him with a Non-Prosecution Agreement. Mr. Epstein fully conformed to the responsibilities and obligations imposed on him by that agreement. Mr. Epstein is not engaged in public activities. He is a private person who has complied and continues to comply with his legal obligations, and he is attempting to move forward with his life in a productive way. The allegations of Jane Doe 3 are neither credible nor news worthy. ABC should not publish them.

Yours Truly,

/s/Martin G. Weinberg

CC James E Hill, ABC News

From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 5:52:30 PM
To: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]; jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: RE: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: image001.png

Importance: High

Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.

On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.

But I don't see why that should extend to ridicule. That includes astrologists. Astronomers can refute astrology, while recognizing that perfectly honest and deluded people may believe it and should be treated with respect, while their beliefs are confronted with evidence. I also don't see why we should ridicule religious dogma, just as I don't think we should ridicule the much more pernicious secular dogmas. Rather, we should respond to irrational belief with argument and evidence, while recognizing that their advocates (like most of the intellectual world in the case of secular dogma) are people who we should be responding to but without ridiculing them. It may be hard sometimes. For example, when the icon and founding father of sober non-sentimental Realism in International Affairs informs us that the US, unlike other countries, has a "transcendental purpose," and the fact that it constantly acts in contradiction to its purpose doesn't matter because the facts are just "abuse of history" while real history is "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," then it's hard to avoid ridicule. But we should. There's no point ridiculing virtually the entire IR profession and the major journals, even though such extraordinary irrationality leads to major human disasters.

On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted], Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]

[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

---

From: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:08:32 PM
To: Noam Chomsky [[redacted]]
CC: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; [redacted]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Yup.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office:[redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 12:09 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

I quite agree. And I'm pretty sure Lawrence does too.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 3:02 PM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Cc: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.

I think religion plays a major positive role in many lives. . i dont like fanaticism on either side. . sorry

On Thu, Sep 10, 2015 at 7:52 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.
>
> On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.
>
> But I don't see why that should extend to ridicule. That includes astrologists. Astronomers can refute astrology, while recognizing that perfectly honest and deluded people may believe it and should be treated with respect, while their beliefs are confronted with evidence. I also don't see why we should ridicule religious dogma, just as I don't think we should ridicule the much more pernicious secular dogmas. Rather, we should respond to irrational belief with

argument and evidence, while recognizing that their advocates (like most of the intellectual world in the case of secular dogma) are people who we should be responding to but without ridiculing them. It may be hard sometimes. For example, when the icon and founding father of sober non-sentimental Realism in International Affairs informs us that the US, unlike other countries, has a "transcendental purpose," and the fact that it constantly acts in contradiction to its purpose doesn't matter because the facts are just "abuse of history" while real history is "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," then it's hard to avoid ridicule. But we should. There's no point ridiculing virtually the entire IR profession and the major journals, even though such extraordinary irrationality leads to major human disasters.

On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative

Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office:[redacted] Assistant[redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

<image001.png>

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please note

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return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
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including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:09:42 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png; DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Noam Chomsky" <[redacted]>
Date: September 10, 2015 at 12:01:39 PM MST
To: Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: an article you may both hate. or like.

Then we're in complete agreement.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 2:46 PM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.

I couldn't agree more. Re ridicule. I never suggest ridiculing people. However by pointing out the inconsistency, or contravening evidence associated with various ideas, including for example American exceptionalism, then we are essentially subjecting ideas to ridicule. That is what I meant.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]

Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | twitter.com/lkrauss1 | krauss.faculty.asu.edu

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 10:52 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

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Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky [redacted]; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

hope all is well.

Lawrence

http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/all-scientists-should-be-militant-atheists

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department

Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office:[redacted]Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
[redacted]
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

<image001.png>

From: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Sent: 9/10/2015 8:10:36 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: an article you may both hate. or like.
Attachments: DA866543-7401-4A5A-8E50-FD32E33A50EC.png

Importance: High

Ps. My piece argued against fanaticism.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Foundation Professor
School of Earth & Space Exploration and Physics Department
Arizona State University, P.O. Box 871404, Tempe, AZ 85287-1404
Research Office: [redacted] Assistant [redacted]
Origins Office [redacted]
krauss@asu.edu
origins.asu.edu | **twitter.com/lkrauss1** | **krauss.faculty.asu.edu**

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 10, 2015, at 12:02 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I think religion plays a major positive role in many lives. . i dont like fanaticism on either side. . sorry

On Thu, Sep 10, 2015 at 7:52 PM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

> Thanks for sending. A wide area of agreement, but not total.
>
> On confronting dogma, I of course agree – though in my opinion the secular religions – nationalist fanaticism, etc. – are much more dangerous. And if some find rational discussion offensive – as, for example, mainstream academics find dismantling myths of "American exceptionalism" or "Israeli self-defense" or Obama's mass murder campaign, etc., offensive – so be it.
>
> But I don't see why that should extend to ridicule. That includes astrologists. Astronomers can refute astrology, while recognizing that perfectly honest and deluded people may believe it and should be treated with respect, while their beliefs are confronted with evidence. I also don't see why we should ridicule religious dogma, just as I don't think we should ridicule the much more pernicious secular dogmas. Rather, we should respond to irrational belief with argument and evidence, while recognizing that their advocates (like most of the intellectual world in the case of secular dogma) are people who we should be responding to but without ridiculing them. It may be hard sometimes. For example, when the icon and founding father of sober non-sentimental Realism in International Affairs informs us that the US, unlike other countries, has a "transcendental purpose," and the fact that it constantly acts in contradiction to its purpose doesn't matter because the facts are just "abuse of history" while real history is "the evidence of history as our minds reflect it," then it's hard to avoid ridicule. But we should. There's no point ridiculing virtually the entire IR profession and the major journals, even though such extraordinary irrationality leads to major human disasters.

On Davis, I frankly think that's a non-issue. If she decides she cannot do her job as the conditions of employment require (including following the law), then she can quit and look for another job. As in any other such case.

Noam

From: Lawrence Krauss [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, September 10, 2015 1:51 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>; jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Subject: an article you may both hate. or like.

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Lawrence

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From: Joi Ito [redacted]
Sent: 10/25/2015 1:02:26 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Good idea. It didn't seem like Obama was that interested in hard sciences though… What's your read?

On Oct 25, 2015, at 7:46 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

another idea for obama . not as good as bio signal intelligence. . the cinese are willing to build a new collider. they will put up the money and build it , but need american tech. if he were to call it the obama xi collider. his legazy would be great in scinece and the project takes 15 -30 years.

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[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 3:17:58 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

May I drop by before the New Year (perhaps on the 9th, or on the 17th or 18th?) to get your advice about my renewal of the Templeton campaign, and also my needs in the coming year for Poetry in America? Below is the letter I'm sending out to my friends and supporters, and at the bottom a message just for you....
-Lisa

That you are receiving this letter means that you are among a special community of friends whose support— financial, moral, intellectual, logistical— has allowed my initiative, *Poetry in America*, to realize what seemed, a year ago, almost certainly too ambitious a vision. **That vision was to produce the highest quality educational video on American poetry, creating a body of humanities content capable of reaching a broad community of learners: formal and informal, online and residential, young and old, American and international. And it was to begin— rapidly— to disseminate and distribute our work.**

Whether you donated to *Poetry in America* through Filmmaker's Collaborative (our 501c3 fiscal sponsor), through Harvard, or through WGBH; whether you appeared on camera or talked an elusive friend into appearing on camera to discuss a poem; whether you lent us your film crew, or provided overnight use of your hotel suite or apartment or of your whole skyscraper; whether you highlighted our work on your stage, or talked your colleagues into becoming corporate sponsors; whether you flew to Boston to install state-of-the-art editing and video storage equipment, or asked your children's school to let us film there; whether you encouraged your family foundation to take an interest in the project, or gave us a lesson in IP, in licensing, in the rudiments of finance, or of distribution; whether you praised, or gave timely, much-needed criticism— you enabled what we have done.

Here's what we have to report, and to show, a year later, thanks to your help. Links offer sneak peeks of works -in-progress across the full portfolio of *Poetry in America* projects.

- The first **eight-episode season of the public television series *Poetry in America*** (a co-production between WGBH, Emmy Award-winning filmmaker David Grubin, and my own new production company, Verse Video), is now fully funded and in production, with episodes featuring Bill Clinton, Herbie Hancock and Sonia Sanchez on Langston Hughes, Frank Gehry on Carl Sandburg, Katie Couric on Elizabeth Bishop, Nas on Whitman, and many more scheduled for nationwide launch in 2017.
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- We are eager to begin production of **The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky.** Designed, too, for Middle and High School teachers, The Poetry of Earth, Sea, and Sky will draw English Language Arts instruction into dialogue with science, and will include extraordinary footage of the natural world, conversations with poets, scholars, and scientists as well as footage shot in class and in the field with great teachers.

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- With a growing archive of footage capturing teachers and students reading American poems, **we are eager to expand our reach and move into America's schools, disseminating, testing, and learning from teachers and students** using our materials. We hope to be able to begin work evaluating the impact of poetry on literacy levels and character development and, eventually, to produce a full suite of materials that foster character development along with intellectual growth.

Working closely with such partners as The Nantucket Project, Nautilus Magazine, The Aspen Ideas Festival, and The Big Think, and, of course, **HarvardX**, Harvard's provider of free open online courses, we are continuing to **create rich educational media on poetry for adult learners and lifelong learners.** These materials include short form videos such as this one on Robert Pinsky's "Shirt" (as featured in *The New Yorker*), and, this spring, the **sixth module of the free seven-part *Poetry in America* MOOC, which has registrants in over 150 countries.**

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Finally, Jeffrey, you have been such a wonderful supporter of my Poetry in America project. The Leon Black gift changed everything for me last year. It paid salaries for staff I desperately needed to complete projects (detail below), but first and foremost, it gave me leverage, enabling me to set down a solid Harvard base for my activities by giving the school something to point to: this public humanities project among the list of projects the Dean supports. The money did it: as soon as they heard about the gift, they took my project more seriously. Because of that gift, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, which is space-stingy, found and rewired a studio space for me to house my video production operation and team. That gift woke up the Deans to the importance of Harvard's role in producing the highest quality humanities content for the WORLD, and not just for Harvard students. My main employee has half of her salary paid with these funds, and the foundation of our collection for PBS LearningMedia is being made with this support. This gift represented one of the most consequential shifts of the last year, allowing me create content and launch projects this year that make future projects that much more likely. If I can keep this base sturdy at Harvard, refilling these coffers, I will be that much more able to keep working.

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With abundant gratitude,
Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 4:55:05 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

That's ideal. Larry's away and I'll be working all day. I'm free any time.

On Wed, Dec 2, 2015 at 10:31 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> I'm in Cambridge sat?
>
> On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
>
>> Dear Jeffrey,
>>
>> May I drop by before the New Year (perhaps on the 9th, or on the 17th or 18th?) to get your advice about my renewal of the Templeton campaign, and also my needs in the coming year for Poetry in America? Below is the letter I'm sending out to my friends and supporters, and at the bottom a message just for you....
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> With abundant gratitude,
> Lisa
>
> --
>
> Elisa New
> Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
> Harvard University
> 148 Barker Center
> 12 Quincy Street
> Cambridge, MA
> O2138
> [redacted]
>
> --
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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 12/2/2015 5:54:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Poetry Update and Thank You

Importance: High

did you want to send the below to Lisa? (or have me ask her?)

On Dec 2, 2015, at 12:53 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

Do you know Chomsky , he Is with me

On Wednesday, 2 December 2015, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

> ---------- Forwarded message ----------s with me
> From: **Lisa New** <[redacted]>
> Date: Wednesday, 2 December 2015
> Subject: Poetry Update and Thank You
> To: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
>
> That's ideal. Larry's away and I'll be working all day. I'm free any time.
>
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From: Lisa New[redacted]
Sent: 12/7/2015 7:01:10 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: and....another bit of advice ...? on WA

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

As you probably know, Woody Allen's legal team said that we couldn't use the film we shot of him: online, for broadcast, anywhere.

It was a fantastic experience taping with him and so, even if I can't ever use the footage, I'm still grateful to you for making the day possible. But of course I'd like to use the footage. I decided when--way back-- we got this very negative answer back from his lawyers that I should just take my time about asking --since it would take us 2 years to be ready to edit the footage anyway (The online course is chronological. When I taped Woody we were still back in 1730. Now we've gotten to the 1920s)

Well, we've now arrived at the season when we'll be editing materials on William Carlos Williams for our course on Modernism and, as we discussed on Saturday, on poetry and other arts, The Poetry of Art, Sport, and Play

I would also, of course, love to make a tv episode out of the conversation, but the threshold question is whether he'll let us use it for anything at all. In case it would matter,

Other performers who have already taped with me include

John Lithgow,
Diane Paulus
Julie Taymor
Nas
Eve Ensler
Damian Woetzel
Kate Burton
Lil Buck Riley
Alfre Woodard
Herbie Hancock
Tony Kushner
Natalia Zukerman

and those who have agreed to tape with me include

Sally Field
Lena Dunham
Yo Yo Ma
Anna Deveare Smith
and more.

Those in other fields include journalists, senators, president clinton etc etc. You've read my pitch before (many times)

His is one of only two releases that we haven't gotten. What do you think of my chances?

Lisa

--

Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Leah Reis-Dennis [redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2015 3:33:09 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com; Lisa New [redacted]
Subject: following up: WA poetry release

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

My name is Leah Reis-Dennis, and I'll be heading operations for Lisa's new non-profit, Verse Video Education. She's asked me to be in touch with you about helping us get a release from Woody Allen.

First, I wanted to send along the rough stringout of footage from the conversation with Woody a couple of years ago on "This is Just to Say" by William Carlos Williams. This is totally unedited and uncut footage, but we would love the opportunity to turn it into something great.
https://www.dropbox.com/sh/c0bn1jjxeo0654g/uWZ6KBVbLS?preview=WoodyAllen+Basic+Clip+for+Viewing.mov

If Woody Allen agrees to let us use the footage, he will be in distinguished company. To date, we have filmed conversations about poetry with dozens of distinguished Americans including:

Bill Clinton
Al Gore
John McCain
Mayor Rahm Emanuel
Mayor Tom Menino
Supreme Court Justice Elena Kagan
Sir Mervyn King
Former Secretary of the Treasury Larry Summers

The conversation would be part of a large multiplatform initiative that Harvard Professor Lisa New has under way to bring poetry into the mainstream, and, especially, into English Language Arts classrooms in the United States and around the world. The initiative, Poetry in America, includes a HarvardX online course, a television series we're creating with WGBH to be paired with PBS LearningMedia segments for the classroom, and, a series of online professional development courses we're creating for ELA Middle and High School teachers and for their students.

Let us know if Woody Allen might be open to our sending another release form his way. Of course, if he's interested in releasing the footage for only certain parts of our project, we're open to having a conversation about that, too.

Thank you, and I hope to meet you soon.

Best, Leah

--
Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
[redacted]

From: soon yi previn [redacted]
Sent: 12/8/2015 5:58:45 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: following up: WA poetry release

Importance: High

Open in principle depending on specially how and where it would be shown and how it would be advertised- both subject to particular requirements and/or restrictions.Also dependent on approval of final cut. Would enter project with positive attitude but release would be reworked by lawyer.

Sent from Soon-Yi's iPhone 🎈

On Dec 8, 2015, at 10:40 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Leah Reis-Dennis** <[redacted]>
Date: Tue, Dec 8, 2015 at 11:33 AM
Subject: following up: WA poetry release
To: jeevacation@gmail.com, Lisa New <[redacted]>

Dear Jeffrey,

My name is Leah Reis-Dennis, and I'll be heading operations for Lisa's new non-profit, Verse Video Education. She's asked me to be in touch with you about helping us get a release from Woody Allen.

First, I wanted to send along the rough stringout of footage from the conversation with Woody a couple of years ago on "This is Just to Say" by William Carlos Williams. This is totally unedited and uncut footage, but we would love the opportunity to turn it into something great.
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Thank you, and I hope to meet you soon.

Best, Leah

--
Leah Reis-Dennis
Poetry in America
[redacted]

--
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From: Noam Chomsky [redacted]
Sent: 12/24/2015 5:37:14 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Re:

Importance: High

Very interesting topics. Would like to hear more from you about them, when we have a chance. Is it worldwide, or mostly here?

My impression is that the fear is mostly in the US. There's nothing in (much more vulnerable) Europe comparable to the Visa Waiver program (insanely targeting Iran, which has not been involved in terrorism, while exempting Saudi Arabia, the source of almost all jihadi terrorism). Or Trump-style ban them all. Or Cruz-style carpet-bomb them. For a long time, probably back to colonial days, this has been a very frightened country, maybe the safest in the world but also the most frightened. Impressions.

Sometimes it's quite weird. By accident, I took the first flight PanAm 103 after the Lockerbie bombing, together with an old friend, a veteran Middle East correspondent. It must have been the safest flight in human history. The plane was empty. We were bumped up to first class because there was no one there.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, December 24, 2015 11:28 AM
To: Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Re:

thought you might be interested in a new version of the percentage agreement between stalin and churchill. Saudi and Iran doing the same , dividing spheres of influence. . it seems few people paying attention to palestinians . maybe next generation. - israel going further right it appears. I find that media induced fear is driving world markets. . very odd. gas prices down nobody shopping, . hotel prices down less travel. commodity prices way down, little building. luxury market decimated. no russians or chinese players. . still virtually zero interest rates. . borrowing not up, fear and paralysis. , (I add these topics as to these at least, i can speak with a modicum of knowledge)

On Thu, Dec 24, 2015 at 10:51 AM, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

> This is the program David Marr initiated, developed by Shimon Ullman and others. Makes sense, and there are some interesting results. David was a friend, and we often discussed these topics. In fact, his famous three levels adapted a model from generative grammar. But there was always the fundamental problem I mentioned. Vision is an input system, crafting coherent images from lines, points of light, etc. Language is used for that purpose too, but it's not what language is.
>
> That fundamental difference, along with the fact that the principles involved seem quite different, has always been a stumbling block to seeking any link.
>
> **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2015 10:48 AM
> **To:** Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re:

Vision rules needed to craft coherent image . Edges? " Faggehtabowtit." Two edges crafted by software

On Thursday, December 24, 2015, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:

> I presume that the software just guides the hardware. Don't see how that changes the considerations.
>
> **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> **Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2015 10:09 AM
> **To:** Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>
> **Subject:** Re:
>
> The hardware of vision is an input system , It's the software that I'm referring to .
>
> On Thursday, December 24, 2015, Noam Chomsky <[redacted]> wrote:
>
> > We don't teach children language either, contrary to many beliefs. The visual grammar just grows, and as is known, can develop in various ways depending on early experience. Same with the language grammar, though the period in which experience has a shaping effect is much longer.
> >
> > However, there are fundamental differences between vision and language. Can send you a recent paper about it if you like. Vision is an input system. Language isn't. It's an internal capacity, a system of knowledge, which is used to process input and also to produce thoughts (sometimes externalized). Seems also to be modality independent. And their properties look wholly different, so it's hard to see how one could piggy-back on the other.
> >
> > Noam
> >
> > **From:** jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
> > **Sent:** Thursday, December 24, 2015 9:24 AM
> > **To:** Noam Chomsky <[redacted]>;[redacted]
> > **Subject:**
> >
> > we dont teach children to see. they have a visual grammar built in . why wouldnt we expect some mutation of that system to allow auditory grammar.
> >
> > --
> >
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From: Joi Ito[redacted]
Sent: 3/20/2016 7:33:11 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Martin Nowak [martin_nowak@harvard.edu]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

I'm around.

That's the day that Anonymous is supposed to take down Trump's page.

Just saying.

- Joi

On Mar 20, 2016, at 2:52 PM, jeffrey E. <[redacted]jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

barnaby and I will come up april 1

--
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--
Please use this email for confidential mail only. For general Media Lab email, please use
[redacted]

MARTIN G. WEINBERG, P.C.
ATTORNEY AT LAW

20 PARK PLAZA, SUITE 1000
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

[redacted]

FAX [redacted]

NIGHT EMERGENCY:
[redacted]

EMAIL ADDRESSES:
[redacted]

April 24, 2015

Via Email and U.S. Mail
John Zucker
Assistant Legal Counsel
Office of Legal Counsel
77 W 66TH St, Room 1628
New York, NY 10023

Re: Good Morning America and Night Line interview with Jane Doe 3

Dear Mr. Zucker:

I represent Jeffrey Epstein. I have been informed by Producer James Hill that ABC intends to air an interview, conducted by a Good Morning America co-host, of a woman known in court papers as Jane Doe 3.[1] I write to put you on notice that ABC's publication of Jane Doe 3's accusations is grossly negligent or worse. The accusations, many of which relate to my client, relate to alleged conduct that occurred approximately 15 years ago. The current accusations are simply reformatted and embellished echoes of previous allegations, which were first made by Jane Doe 3 to tabloid publications in the United Kingdom in 2011 and which have no independent news value. These allegations were then and remain now uncorroborated and have been refuted or undermined by other, credible evidence. Indeed, a federal judge recently refused to consider these allegations in pending litigation, finding them "immaterial and impertinent", while striking the allegations and denying Jane Doe 3s Motion to Join, See Jane Doe 1 and 2 v. United States, 08-CV-80736-KAM (S.D. Fla.), Dkt 324 at 5. In addition, in that very same litigation, Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Timothy R. Slater filed a declaration stating that when Jane Doe 3 was interviewed by the FBI in 2007 she refused to cooperate with the investigation of Mr. Epstein declaring she wanted nothing to do with the matter. For ABC to air these untested allegations on national television as "news" when Jane Doe 3 intentionally declined eight years ago to subject these same allegations to verification by the FBI would be grossly irresponsible and severely damaging to Mr. Epstein and others.

---

[1] Mr. Hill informed me that she was waiving whatever rights to anonymity she might assert but I will, because of certain legal obligations, refer to her as Jane Doe 3.

This is particularly true when ABC knows or should know that several, very specific allegations of Jane Doe 3 have been rebutted and/or demonstrated by others to be false. For example, I understand that she has accused distinguished Professor Alan Dershowitz of Harvard Law School of sexual misconduct involving her. Professor Dershowitz has flatly denied that allegation under oath in a federal court proceeding. I further understand that Professor Dershowitz offered to play a tape recording for Mr. Hill that evidences that Jane Doe 3 has made recent contradictory statements—that is, that she was pressured into including Professor Dershowitz in her allegations and that she has a financial motive in making these allegations.

The Duke of York and the Royal Palace have likewise unequivocally denied Jane Doe's similar allegations against the Duke. Surely, these unequivocal statements of denial of respected members of society are entitled to some deference by ABC, particularly where, as here, there is substantial evidence of bias, improper motive, and serious credibility problems of their accuser.

Moreover, additional claims of Jane Doe 3 can be refuted with objective evidence that is readily obtainable by ABC. For example, she claims she was in the presence of both former President Clinton (after January 20, 2001, and before the summer of 2002) and former Vice President Gore (and his wife) at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. I have been told by Mr. Hill that she claims to be 100% sure of the facts regarding President Clinton. The claims are completely uncorroborated and compellingly contradicted by others. Neither former President Clinton nor former Vice-President Gore and his wife have ever been present at Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. A review of United States Secret Service records, obtainable through a Freedom of Information Request would prove the falsity of the claim. Virgin Island government records would provide further confirmation. I also believe that Mr. Hill has been told by individuals with percipient knowledge that former President Clinton has never been to Mr. Epstein's Virgin Island home. Upon inquiry, I am certain that you would receive similar denials from Mr. and Mrs. Gore either directly or by or through their counsel Mr. Boies. Jane Doe 3's fabrication of these claims against respected former officials undermines completely the trustworthiness of each and every one of her remaining allegations.

We would expect that, in the wake of the damning independent review of Rolling Stone's publications of rape allegations involving students at the University of Virginia, ABC would proceed with similar, uncorroborated allegations with extreme caution. At the very least, ABC has an obligation to verify—with independent evidence—the truthfulness of Jane Doe 3's claims. Merely declining to air those portions of her interview that relate to President Clinton and Vice-President Gore is insufficient. If ABC has concerns about her credibility with respect to any allegation, it must decline to republish all of her allegations.

In June of 2008, Mr. Epstein pleaded guilty to Florida state charges that do not relate to Jane Doe 3. After an extensive investigation, the United States declined to prosecute Mr. Epstein and provided him with a Non-Prosecution Agreement. Mr. Epstein fully conformed to the responsibilities and obligations imposed on him by that agreement. Mr. Epstein is not engaged in public activities. He is a private person who has complied and continues to comply with his legal obligations, and he is attempting to move forward with his life in a productive way. The allegations of Jane Doe 3 are neither credible nor news worthy. ABC should not publish them.

Yours Truly,

/s/Martin G. Weinberg

CC James E Hill, ABC News

From: Roy Black [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:47:41 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

j

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]
Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

Privileged - Redacted

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]
Date: April 28, 2016 at 12:14:37 PM EDT
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Sorry, the suit is attached to this email.

From: Ingram, David (Reuters News)
Sent: Thursday, April 28, 2016 12:14 PM
To: 'Martin G. Weinberg'
Subject: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Hi Marty,

The attached lawsuit was filed this week in federal court in California alleging that Jeffrey Epstein and another man, Donald Trump, raped her in 1994. We're planning to publish a story on the suit this afternoon, and we want to make sure it is fair. Is Mr. Epstein available to speak? Or do you want to offer a comment on this behalf?

My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.

Thank you in advance.

David Ingram

Correspondent
Reuters News

Thomson Reuters

Office: [redacted]
Mobile [redacted]

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Reuters.com

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---

From: Alan Dershowitz [redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:51:57 PM
To: Roy Black [[redacted]]
CC: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Jack Goldberger [redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

Privileged - Redacted

Sent from my iPhone

On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:47 PM, Roy Black <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
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To: Alan M. Dershowitz; Roy Black; Jack Goldberger
Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

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From: **Martin Weinberg** <[redacted]
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To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

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David Ingram
Correspondent
Reuters News

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From: Jack Goldberger[redacted]
Sent: 4/28/2016 4:59:27 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Alan M. Dershowitz [redacted]; Roy Black[redacted]
Subject: Re: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

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Sent from my iPhone

> On Apr 28, 2016, at 12:40 PM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> j
> ---------- Forwarded message ----------
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> Date: Thu, Apr 28, 2016 at 12:20 PM
> Subject: Fwd: Reuters / lawsuit against Jeffrey Epstein
> To: Jeff Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com<mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com>>
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> Privileged - Redacted
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> My number is [redacted] and I'm available any time. I also just tried your cell phone.
> Thank you in advance.
>
>
> David Ingram
> Correspondent
> Reuters News
>
> Thomson Reuters
>
> Office: [redacted]
> Mobile:
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> <katie johnson v trump complaint.pdf>

From: Moshe Hoffman [[redacted]]
Sent: 5/3/2016 4:51:28 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Greetings, Thanks, and Top Five Questions for the Social Sciences (which Martin thought may interest you)

Importance: High

Hi Jeff,

Thanks again for making the time for me last time you were in town. And for your introductions to Brockman and Ehud. I have enjoyed all the conversations and been learning a lot. Hopefully, a book or two will come out of it eventually as well. Means a lot to me.

Martin mentioned that you are thinking about the top questions in various fields and suggested I might think of some of my own and pass them on to you.

In case you are interested, I list below the five biggest questions that keep me up at night, motivate my life's work, and which I think ought to keep up every social scientist. Happy to discuss with you, if and when you are interested.

-Moshe

----

1) Where do our moral and political views come from?

The bull shit answers most people accept clearly don't fit the facts; we are not discovering moral truths through reason, and our political views are not motivated by a desire to achieve the best policy outcomes. So what does drive these beliefs? And what causes them to have the weird puzzling features they do (e.g., why is a lie of commission so much worse than a lie of omission)? And what causes them to change over time (e.g., slavery has been accepted as moral at many points in history)? And differ across cultures (e.g., ISIS versus the U.S.)? And across person and context (e.g., Trump vs. Bernie supporters)?

More generally, we believe and argue all sorts of crap (your vote can make a difference, Jesus loves you, all men are created equal). How do these beliefs and arguments work? Are they just random ideas propagated by an amorphous culture, viruses taking advantage of our own psychology for their benefit, ideas that get us to do the bidding of their cynical designers?

2) Similarly, where do our tastes come from? Like the art we like? Or the music?

Some tastes are kinda obvious. E.g., we evolved to like young curvy women because they are the most fertile. And maybe we like art that reminds us of this or of landscapes that are safe or what not. But there are many aspects of art and music (e.g. modern art, rap) that are not universally pleasing. So what makes people like these things? What properties do they need to succeed? What role does the artist or the history of the piece play in what we like? Of course, this question isn't just about art and music, but about all of our peculiar, culturally specific tastes. How does culture shape our tastes? Is it completely arbitrary or is there some logic to its influence?

3) Where do our political and economic institutions come from and what causes them to have the peculiar structure they have?

We have one vote per person, but everyone knows dollars can buy more votes, and voters in small states are better represented than those in large states. Whose interests are being served and why theirs? Many economists and political scientists have thought about "optimal institutions." And much comparative and historical work has been done. But there isn't really a good unified theory of how these evolve, what characteristics are likely to emerge, and in what ways they are or are not optimal.

4) Is there a fundamental theory of human societies that's analogous to Darwin's theory in biology?

Can that framework be as well supported by evidence and as simple as natural selection in biology, that will likewise explain the interesting things humans do, like, and believe, and the institutions we construct? Evolutionary psychologists think this doesn't require a new theory, just an investigation of the mind that biologically evolved on the Savannah. Others like Dawkins have suggested that we are best understood as machines infested by viruses of the mind which themselves evolve to take advantage of our evolved psychology. Anthropologists treat culture as just random inputs. Social psychologists document the funny quirks of our behavior without explaining where they come from. And economists assume people optimize given their tastes and beliefs but take those as given. Is one of these the right theory, if not is there a more compelling theory out there? What will it look like? How will we find it? How will we know we have found it, when we have?

5) How can we fix the perverse incentives in academia?

Researchers get hired and promoted for publishing in top journals. Journal publication is determined by editors and referees. The best way to publish is to make sure your allies are the referees, cite their work, and don't step on their toes, and to convince the editor you are famous enough and your work is flashy enough that it will be well cited and get covered by the nytimes. None of this requires much attention be paid to truth, insight, or originally.

Arguably, this is why the social sciences are such a mess. Few bother to incorporate evidence or arguments from outsiders (e.g., social psychologists don't consult historians, economists barely consult social psychologists). Few bother to question the fundamental assumptions driving their field that make no sense and go unchecked (e.g., anthropologists treat culture as random inputs). And many researchers end up spending their whole careers developing and propagating theories that are completely uninteresting to outsiders, or obviously fallacious to anyone not steeped in their literature.

It is ridiculous that we're still using a system derived from the Society of Letters of the 1500s. Perhaps it's time for something more like Wikipedia, where information gets aggregated and contributors are incentivizes by their reputation as competent editors to integrate information from across disciplines? Or something like Reddit, where quality research is recognized by upvotes that aggregate the opinion of thousands from diverse fields? Or a certification system of sorts, where papers are certified as having done their statistics right or having integrated what's known from certain fields, or not citing irrelevant papers for political reasons? Whatever the solution is, social scientists and engineers who work on this problem will have orders of magnitude more impact on science than scientists doing primary research in our archaic system.

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 5/4/2016 6:25:26 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: woody and deadline

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Woody has received from his lawyer some questions I asked in in response to the agreement Irwin Tenenbaum sent me....I found that that agreement generous and reasonable (!), and I'm excited to go forward, but I do need those clarifications. We can absolutely agree that we will not give Woody larger or more important billing than Bill Clinton or Joe Biden, and that I'd like to come to him to renew our agreement after five years.

The Harvard week of content in which Woody will appear, if we can sign this, needs to be edited in the next week-10 days. We are out of time, which is why I'm writing

The television show has been picked up by American Public Television, they will distribute nationally, and they've asked for another 5 episodes. I so want Woody to be one of those.

I'd like to see the haiku written by computer. Haiku is not that hard. I'd like to see an elegy written by computer.

Lisa
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